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THE EAST

Vol. X No.4 May [illegible] ¥120

Changing the Dress Styles of Japan
The Japanese and Their Customs
The Origin of the Japanese Race

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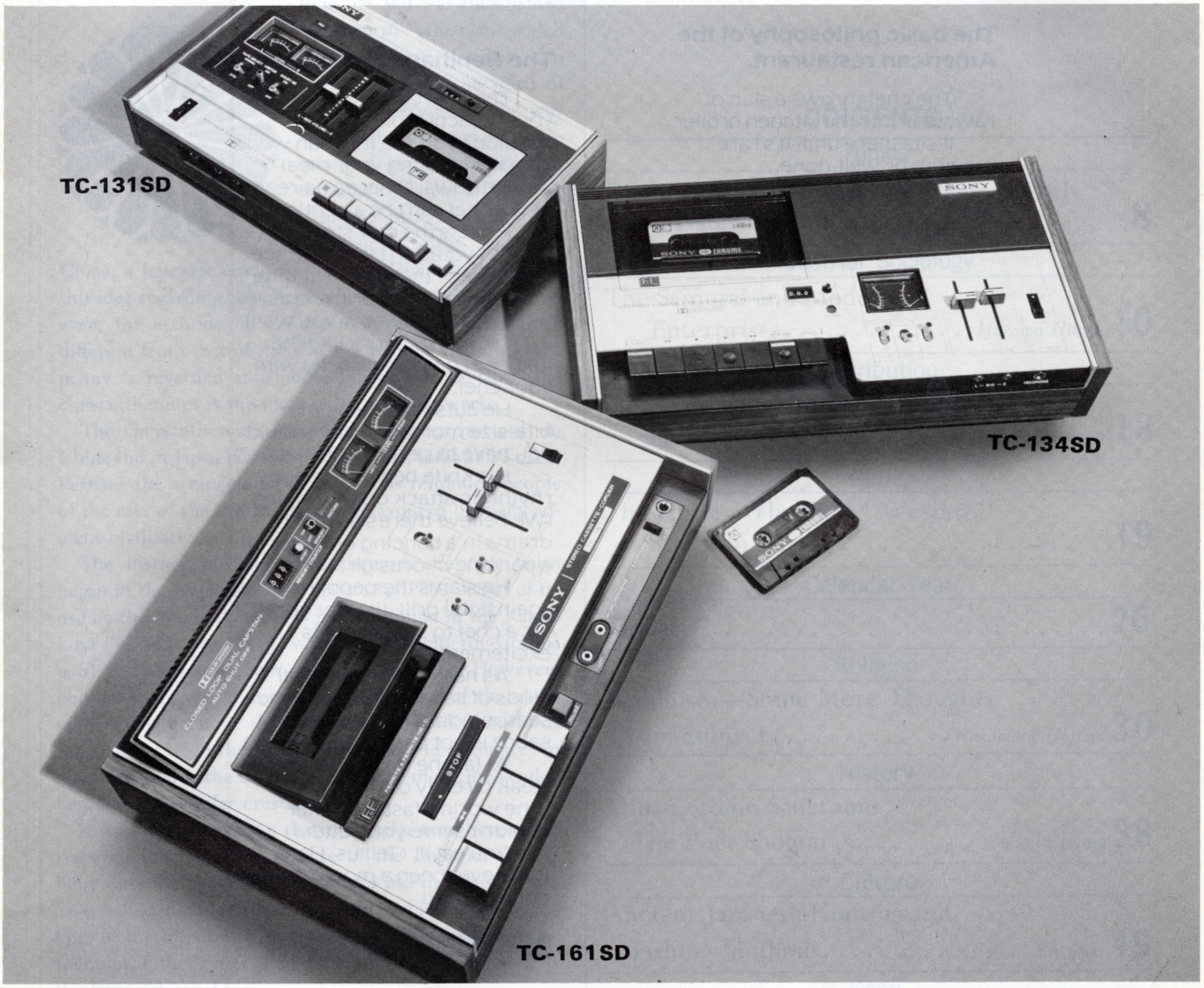

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PRINTED IN JAPAN

Vol. X
No.4 1974
THE EAST

COVER

According to the tales in the books *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, which describe to us the world as it was in "the age of the gods," a god from the sky or from the sea came to visit the earth. This is the reason that the Japanese have always worshipped the high mountains and the sea as areas in which a god resides and which therefore are considered sacred.

When a god descends from the sky to the earth he is believed to dwell for a time in a tall tree which spreads its branches upward towards the sky. Because the Japanese cedar grows in such a way—straight and tall, shooting its branches towards the sky—the Japanese people worship it as the tree in which a god dwells. One of these trees is *Kamisugi*, the sacred Japanese cedar at Miwa Shrine in Yamato.

Some Japanese cedars grow to a height of more than 50m. and have trunks that are 5m. wide. Such trees grow in areas ranging from Aomori in the north to Yaku Island, Kyūshū, in the south. Yaku Island especially has very large cedars, called *Yakusugi*, which are renowned throughout Japan. (*Yakusugi* were introduced in the *The East*, Vol. IX, No. 7).

A sacred cedar called "*Shirushi no Sugi*" at Fushimi-inari Shrine in Kyōto has been renowned from the early ages because of its power of invoking the protection of the god. The worshippers who visit this sacred tree snip off a young shoot at the shrine and carry it to their homes to plant it. They appreciate knowing that this young shoot will mature guaranteeing divine protection for its owner.

Another belief of the Japanese people is that the cedar tree bears a close relationship to our wine called saké. We Japanese have a legend that in the reign of the Emperor Sujin (97 B.C.–30 A.D.) a saké brewer called Ikume prepared a wonderful saké overnight with the assistance of the god of *Miwadaijin* in Miwa Shrine. And the leaves of a cedar tree, shaped round like a ball, used to be (but now seldom are) hung from the eaves of a roof as the sign of a saké shop. The origins of this custom can be found at the *Kamisugi* (sacred cedar) of Miwa Shrine.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sirs:

This is in response to a letter from J. Michael Long of El Cerrito, California, which appeared in the Information Box in your Nov–Dec, 1972 issue. He asked for information on making TOFU at home. Please tell him that I have just written a book "Tofu Recipes" which include direction for making tofu at home, as well as a number of recipes for using tofu. Anyone else interested may obtain a copy of the above book by writing to me. It is also available in many Oriental food stores and gourmet shops.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Chihiro Kikuchi
260 Sumac Lane
Ann Arbor, Michigan,
U.S.A.

INFORMATION BOX

Q

Dear Sirs,

Your magazine is what people call "far-out!" I am a junior in a California high school and when a publication of THE EAST arrives, our friends get together and become involved in many interesting discussions about the articles.

I am especially interested in the latter days of the Shogunate and the beginning of the Meiji Period. In your issue of THE EAST (Vol. IX No. 4), you included an article on the latter days of Shogunate which proved helpful. I would like to obtain a cross-file of the magazine concerning this period, or address of universities, etc. where the above information may be found.

Thank you.

Sincerely Yours,
Lenore Hata
4774 Bowerwood Dr.
Carmichael, California,
U.S.A.

A

We have already published the following articles dealing with the period in which you are interested:

"The Decline of the Tokugawa Government and the Samurai Class",
THE EAST, Vol. IV, No. 3
"The History of Modern Japan"
THE EAST, Vol. IV, No. 4
"In Which Philipp Siebold Teaches Japanese Students",
THE EAST, Vol. VI, No. 3 and
"Ii Naosuke—the Last *Tairo*",
THE EAST, Vol. VI, No. 4

All the above-mentioned issues of our magazine are available.

Q

Sirs:

I have seen your advertisement in the New York Times Book Review for KANJI KANJI and thought that you might be able to help me.

I have been trying to find some Chinese works in the original—not translations—but so far have not been successful. I am particularly interested in T'ang poetry, especially Tu Fu and Li Po and I would also like to have the I Ching in the original writing. Do you have them, or by any chance know where they might be found?

I would appreciate receiving a list of your publications, if you have any, as I might also be interested in some translations. I have some volumes of Haiku which include "Anglicized" Japanese. Since I don't speak Japanese, this makes translation difficult. Do you have any collections of Haiku written in Kanji? If so I should be interested in them.

Yours Very Truly,
Mrs. Owen Ablitt
24 Drumlin Road
Westport, Conn. U.S.A.

A

There are many books dealing with T'ang poetry and the I Ching. Here we select some publications which we think are reasonably priced and easily available.

1. "To Shi", the poetry by Tu Fu in eight vols. (paperback) written both in Japanese and Chinese, ¥1,330 all together.
2. The seventh and eighth volume of the first collection of "Chūgoku Shijin Senshū" deal with the poetry by Li Po both in Japanese and Chinese, ¥840 all together.
3. "I Ching", two vols, (paperback) ¥420.

All of the above-mentioned books are published by Iwanami Shoten, 5-5, Hitotsubashi 2, Chiyoda-ku, Tōkyō, Japan. Concerning *Haiku*, there is no book written in Kanji (Chinese characters) as far as we know.

Q

Dear Sir:

I am a third year college student majoring in Japanese language and literature, and I have been reading *The East* magazine for a little over a year now. I really enjoy reading *The East*, and through it, I have learned more

Correction

Regarding the article 'The Sea We Would Like To See' on the 61st page of the last issue, Vol. X No. 3;
'from March 2 to August 31, 1975' should read
'from July 20, 1975 to January 18, 1976'.

A Request to Our Readers

Because THE EAST is sent to you directly from Japan, we need to be notified of your **change of address** in plenty of time so that you won't miss a copy.

The mailmen do their best, but sometimes shipments are unavoidably delayed for as much as several weeks, and sometimes, though rarely, a package may go astray between the docks of Yokohama and Europe or San Francisco Bay.

If it should happen that you **miss an issue**, please notify our Subscription Department and we will try to trace the copy or send you a replacement.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

The Subscription Department
THE EAST Magazine
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A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

Japan is specially exposed and subjected to the effects of the inflation which has become rampant and which, for the first time since World War II, has reached a dangerous level. This inflation is also threatening and attacking the entire world. It is partly the result of the petroleum crisis which shook the very foundations of the Japanese economy last autumn. Nobody predicted that the weak points of the Japanese economic foundation would be disclosed so clearly.

Every day newspapers report about the skyrocketing prices. Medium and small enterprises become bankrupt one after another. Also, it is becoming increasingly more difficult for the people to make a living.

For example, in the field of publishing the total expenses have nearly doubled because of the rise in the cost of labor, price of printing paper etc. Hence, we have had to raise the price of this magazine against our will; otherwise we cannot continue publishing.

What is Japan going to do from now on? She cannot pursue her way in isolation in order to break this desperate deadlock. On the other hand, the international picture surrounding her is becoming ever more complicated and difficult. As Japan is not alone in this difficult situation but many other countries are faced with similar difficulties, she cannot adopt strong measures that can be damaging to international cooperation. This position she should maintain by squarely facing sudden drastic changes taking place today such as problems related to trade and energy.

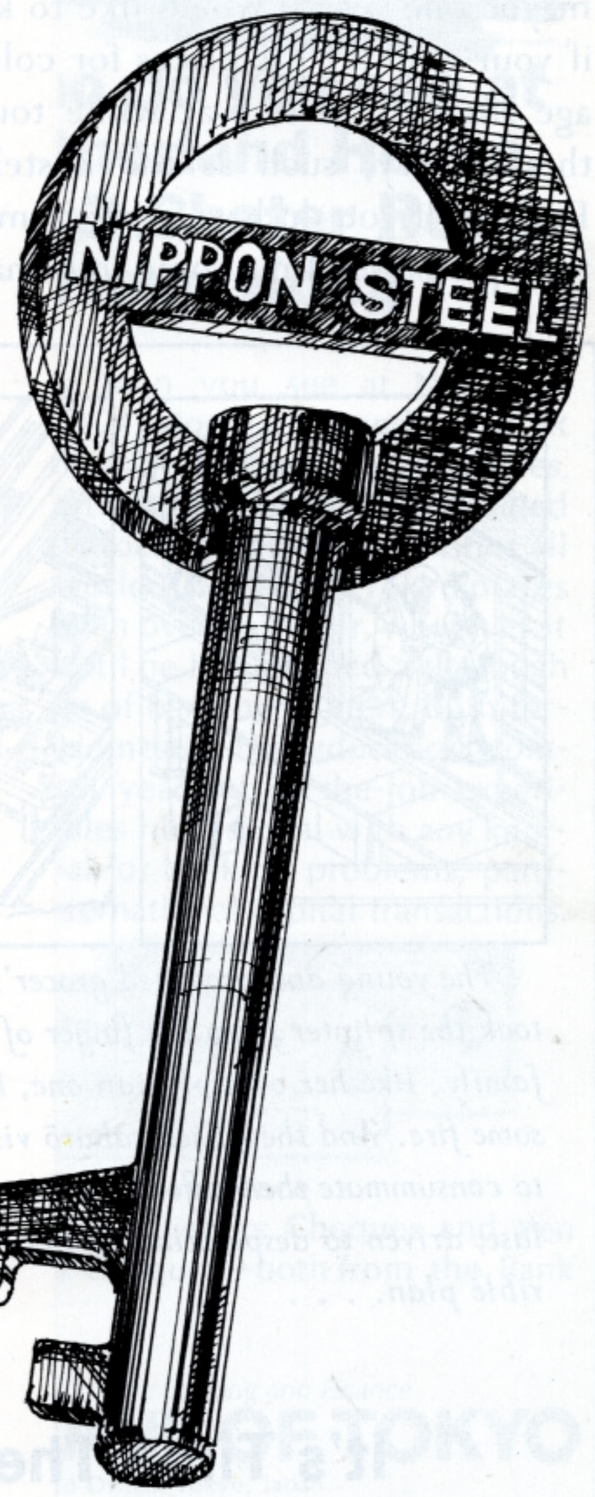
* * * * *

The series of articles on *Buddhism*, although specialized, have been well received and have gained a good reputation. We will offer you another interesting article on such themes as Buddha, Bosatsu (Bodhi-sattva, a Buddhist saint), and Hoke-kyo (the Lotus Sutra).

Concerning "History", a new series of articles is scheduled to begin because many readers favour historical articles. A series of articles related to sociology is also scheduled to start soon following the series on "Industrial Sociology" which enjoyed great popularity.

We hope that you look forward to them as much as we do.

Nippon Steel... a key to better living



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about Japan and its culture.

I have read in your Information Box of your magazine of many people whom you have helped find information for, and I am hoping that you will be able to help me too. I will be graduating from college in June, 1975, and I am thinking of going to Japan to live there for a period of about several months to maybe one year. I would like to know if your country has places for college-age students to stay at while touring the country, such as the hostels in Europe. If you do have a program like this, please send me some information about it. If you do not have this, I would like any information on where a college student can travel to, places to stay, and approximate costs. If your magazine cannot help me, please recommend someone to whom I can write to for this type of information. I will appreciate any assistance you can give me in obtaining the information.

Thank you so much for your time.

Sincerely,
Janie Kawashima
1345 Rockview Street,
Monterey Park,
California 91754, U.S.A.

A

We recommend that you should make use of any of the 580 youth hostels which are located throughout Japan. But you can stay at a youth hostel only for three days at a time. If you are a member of the Youth Hostel Association it costs you ¥1,150 to stay overnight. This price includes two meals.

In order to obtain more information about youth hostels please write:

The Japanese Youth Hostel Association, Hoken Kaikan,
1-2, Sadohara-cho, Ichigaya,
Shinjuku-ku, Tōkyō, Japan

Q

Dear Sirs:

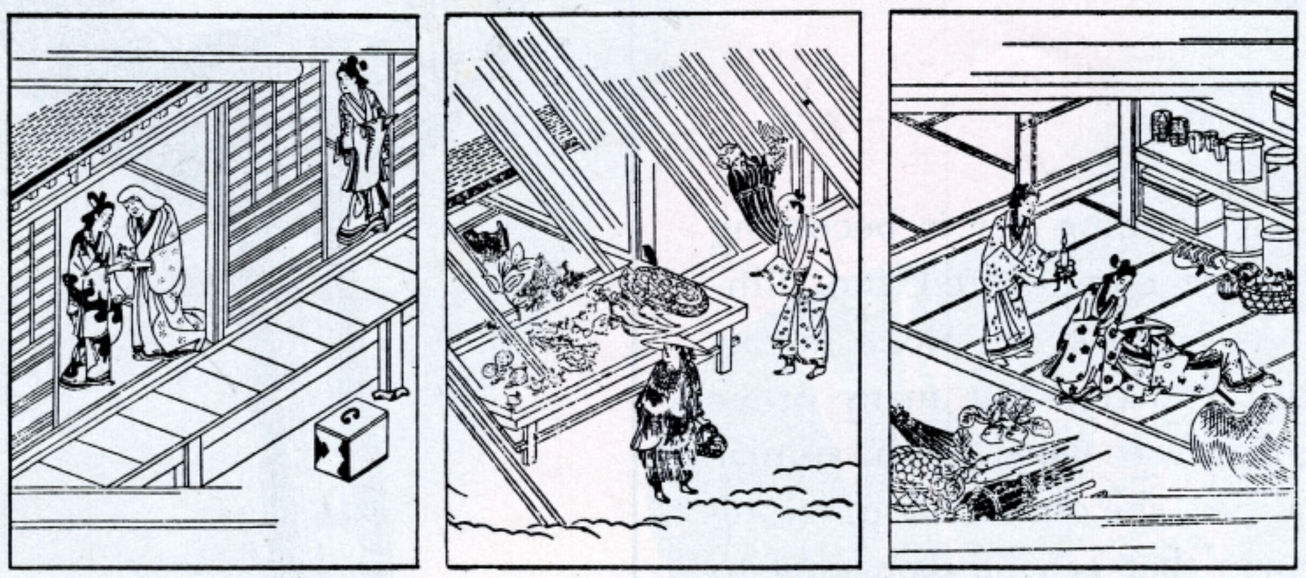
I have searched in vain for some writings, in English, on Yamatai-koku or Himiko. Could you kindly let me know if you have published any articles on her in past editions of your magazine,

I thank you for your help.

Sincerely Yours,
Gerard Sibbritt
7 Kinninmont Ave.
Nedlands 6009,
Western Australia

A

As far as we know no book has been published concerning Himiko of Yamatai-koku. We have not published any articles on this subject but we are planning to print an article on Himiko in our magazine around next autumn.



The young and protected grocer's daughter Oshichi fell in love the moment she took the splinter from the finger of the handsome samurai youth whose patrician family, like her own plebian one, had taken refuge in the temple from the fearsome fire. And then Kichisaburō visited her house in disguise and they were able to consummate their affection. But laws and society forbade their attachment. At last, driven to desperation by her overruling passion, Oshichi decided on a horrible plan. . . .

It's Time Their Stories Were Told

The women of Japan have often been depicted as weak, helpless feminine things fawning behind fans. But that is because no one told the true stories of how imaginative, creative women made their own sometimes very powerful place in Japanese history. Some like Kasuga no Tsuboné rose to positions where their actions could decide the future of the Shōgunate. Some like Okuni and Yosano Akiko ignored the bounds of society to forge new directions in the arts. Some rose above it all to near-beatitude like Hosokawa Gracia. Many of their stories end in tragedy, though by no means all.

We decided it's time their stories were told. And so we offer you the book.

Women Who Shaped Japan,

the first of a series of historical publications by The East.
Please use the order card provided on page 57.

To Our Readers

In order to improve the quality of *The East*, we wish to enlarge the circulation of our periodical and to encourage the firm support of our readers.

We would be very thankful if our present subscribers recommend our periodical to their friends. If you recommend to us five subscribes or more, we would like to present to you our publication of *Her Place in the Sun* as a token of our gratitude.

Development of M.H.D. Generation for Electric Power

Scientists at the Electric Technical Laboratory of the Agency of Industrial Science and Technology are working on the development of a magnet hydro dynamics (M.H.D.) generation for electric power. A practical use of this kind of generation is expected to lead to a reduction in fuel consumption. Re ently, the scientists have succeeded in producing electricity although only at the rate of 80 kilowatts per hour.

The principle behind the M.H.D. generation originates from the law of physics which states that an electric current is produced when a conductor moves at right angles to the magnetic field between the north and south poles of a magnet. Although the theory is in itself simple, it is not easy to develop this project to the degree in which it can be of practical use in providing electric power on a large scale.

The most important problems to be worked out are to ascertain how much the thermal efficiency of this generation can be raised and if it will be able to produce electric power economically. Because the strength of the magnetic field and the properties of the conductor influence the amount of power produced by M.H.D. generation, a great deal of emphasis is placed on these two points.

In the experiments made by the laboratory staff, a powerful electromagnet is cooled to a temperature of minus 270°C. The low temperature of the conducting magnet causes the electric resistance of the magnetic coil to drop to nearly zero, which in turn causes the flow of a large amount of electricity.

However, for an electric conductor to function well a high-temperature gas must be used. Such a gas can be produced by a mixing a ratio by weight of 99% gasoline with 1% potassium (kalium). When the potassium is heated to about 2800°C. an electron becomes ionized and in turn becomes a conductor which carries electricity. The process which is followed is to blow this high-temperature gas into the magnetic field of the conducting electromagnet to generate electricity. The heated gas is now used a second time to make steam, and in this way it generates electricity in the same way as does thermal power, or steam turbine, generation. According to this method—M.H.D. power generation plus thermal power generation— thermal efficiency rises to 50 or 60%, while that of thermal power generation without M.H.D. power generation is only 40%. Thus the M.H.D. will be able to reduce the price of gasoline to a great extent.

Heavy oil (fuel oil) is scheduled to be used in the future—about 1990—instead of gasoline, when its practical use will be realized. It was feared that heavy oil would cause pollution because of its sulphur content. But fortunately the potassium, which is combined with fuel oil in this project, has a property that, when mixed with sulphur, causes it to change into potassium sulphate (K_2 SO_4). Laboratory experiments have proven that potassium and sulphur combine well. So the M.H.D. electric generator has the merit of non-pollution as well as of economy of fuel.

A Notice to Our Subscribers

When making inquiries or requests regarding subscriptions, your own or gifts for someone else, please be sure to indicate your subscription reference number. This will help us to facilitate things so that we can answer you without delay. Thank you very much.

The Subscription Department

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Topics

The Highest-Power Electronic Micro-Scope

THE HIGH-EFFICIENCY electronic microscope, with which the micro-world of an angstrom (one 10-millionth of a millimeter) can be examined in detail, was completed and shown to the people concerned on March 30 at the Chemical Laboratory of Kyōto University.

This microscope was invented and developed by the Kyōto University laboratory group in cooperation with Japan Electron Ltd. under the direction of Professor Kobayashi Keinosuke. The microscope was named "HAREM" which is the combination of the capital letters spelling Hydroggen, Atom, Resolving power, Electron and Microscope.

The group was satisfied that "a long searched-for dream of chemists has come true" and was convinced that "we can now take clear photographs of the atomic configuration of a molecule."

This microscope, 6.5 meters in height and 17 tons in weight, is installed in a two-storied building of the laboratory. In the case of an ordinary electronic microscope a sample object is subjected to an electronic beam which is accelerated under high voltage. The beam is refracted and magnified by a special lens which makes use of the electro-magnetic field. Finally, the beam is projected onto a fluorescent plate where a luminous image can be seen and studied.

In the case of this new microscope, on the other hand, a new powerful magnetic special lens is used and a super high voltage of 500,000 volts is used to accelerate the electronic beam. The sample object is frozen by liquid helium. The efficiency (resolving power) of an electronic microscope is obviously evaluated by the minute size of the object to be examined and the magnification and clarity of detail that can be attained. The resolving power is decided by the combination of the wave length of the electronic beam and the size of the aperture of the special lens. The smaller the aperture is, the clearer the image that can be screened. But to get an image even more clear, a strong magnetic lens is needed which can refract the beam to a great extent.

The HAREM has a special lens which corresponds to the nearly ball-shaped lens that is used in the field of optics. On the other hand, higher accelerating voltage produces an increasingly shorter wave length and the object that can be screened can be increasingly small.

The HAREM, which uses the highest voltage possible of 500,000 volts, obtains this beam with a wave-length of 0.014 angstrom.

The combination of these two elements enables the resolving power of the microscope to rise to 1.4 angstroms (2–5 angstroms in the case of ordinary electronic microscopes), to catch the image of an atom with a diameter of about one angstrom, and also to screen the atomic configuration of a molecule.

Although there has been some success in taking pictures of an atom, these pictures have not been clear. In order to catch a clear image of an atom Professor Kobayashi froze the sample object by using liquid helium with a temperature of minus 269°C so that atoms and molecules could be stopped from moving.

Mayonnaise Made from Soy Beans

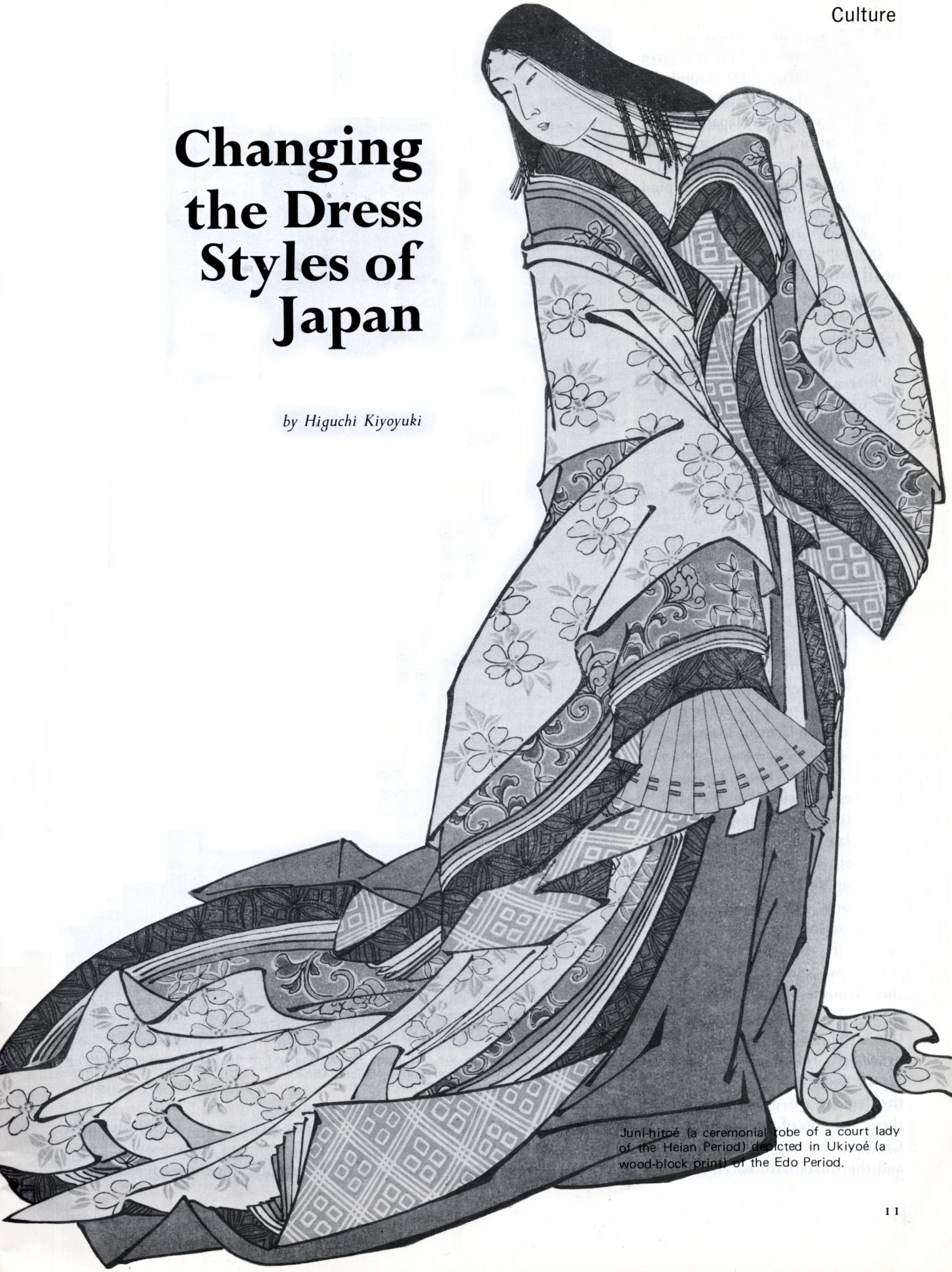
IN ORDER TO cope with the shortage of animal protein the large Japanese foodstuff producing companies have begun to produce foods by using soy beans. For example, the Meiji Seika Kaisha Ltd., a large foodstuff producing firm in Tōkyō, will soon begin to put on sale a type of mayonnaise which was made by primarily utilizing the protein of soy beans and without any eggs. This new type of mayonnaise contains rich vitamins and calcium but no cholesterol. It will be sold at the price of ¥200 (75¢ U.S.) cents a bottle (225 cc.). Its sales catchphrase will be: "healthy food without cholesterol".

Until now it has been difficult to sell foods made from the protein of soy beans because of their odor. However, the Meiji Seika Company has succeeded in deodorizing the soy beans which are used for the production of the new mayonnaise. The technique of this deodorization has not been disclosed.

The mayonnaise will stimulate further promotion in the developing and selling of other foods made from soy beans.

Changing the Dress Styles of Japan

by Higuchi Kiyoyuki



Juni-hitoé (a ceremonial robe of a court lady of the Heian Period) depicted in Ukiyoé (a wood-block print) of the Edo Period.

We know that a primitive Japanese culture began around the end of the Palaeolithic Age. But in that age, which in Japan was of short duration, the population was small and its distribution limited.

The Neolithic Period occupied most of the Stone Age in Japan. In that age, the making of *Jōmon shiki* (straw rope pattern) pottery spread to all parts of the country. Hence, we assume that Japanese culture really began in that age.

In the preceding Palaeolithic Period, styles of clothing typical to each area were already being worn in Europe. During the Neolithic Period that followed such individual clothing existed in all parts of the world. Therefore we must conclude that Japanese clothing was not indigenous to Japan but that it originated somewhere else.

Because clothing is selected and adapted in accordance with the circumstances and the climate involved, the clothing of the Japanese people in that long-ago period already had its own individual character. We ascertain this by observing the dress of the statues of ancient, human-shaped clay figures which are the oldest found in Japan. Most of these figures are fashioned wearing trousers and a shirt with tight sleeves and a stand-up collar. Although such outfits have not yet been discovered, we can imagine the clothing of that age from the above-mentioned clay statuettes.

Thus the earliest Japanese clothing that we know from the past are the trousers and tight-sleeved shirts. We note, however, that this type of clothing does not necessarily relate to the climate in Japan. Indeed, the way in which the figures are dressed resembles the clothing of some of today's Chinese. The tight-fitting trousers and the shirts with narrow sleeves

Haniwa, a clay image, of the Old Tomb Period (the end of the 3rd to the 6th century) is wearing the dress of a warrior (Tokyo National Museum).

are typical of the clothes still worn in the steppes of northeast Asia.

In the steppes, trousers are necessary because the people have to walk through high, rough grass. Especially since the development

of the custom of horseback riding in a nomadic society, trousers became even more necessary in order to protect one's legs. The tight sleeves of the shirt are convenient for the tribes of nomads who hunt for their living. Also, because the steppes have little rain and an extreme climate in both winter and summer, such tight-fitting clothes are suitable.

In Arabia the people wear loose white clothes to protect their bodies from the strong, infra-red rays of the sun and also to allow the air to circulate between their body and the clothes.

In southeast Asia the people wear long skirts which, being loosely fitted, are suitable to the hot, humid climate.

Today, taking into consideration the climate of Japan, the clothing of southeast Asia seems to be favoured by the Japanese people. In this sense it is interesting to note that northeast Asian clothing was adopted by the Japanese during the Stone Age. In general, the Japanese have not liked tight-fitting clothing. Even now, the middle-aged and the older Japanese people prefer "making themselves at home" by wearing *yukata* (a cool, loose-fitting garment usually made of cotton) around the house.

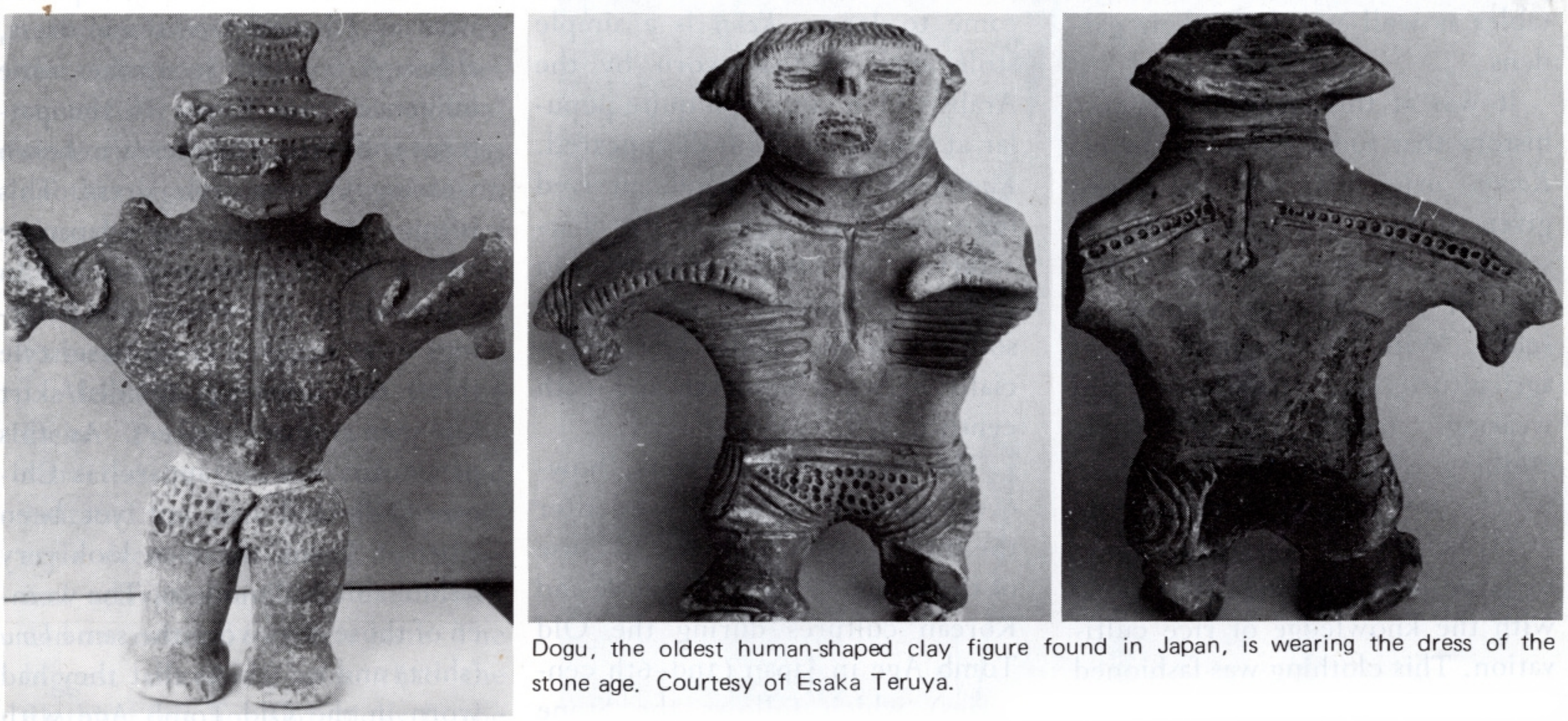
The fact that the ancient clay figures mentioned before are wearing trousers and a shirt with tight sleeves indicates that those clothes were adopted from northeast Asia. Since the end of the Stone Age, however, Japanese culture has belonged to the culture of southeast Asia, or the monsoon area culture. The type of clothing worn in the Stone Age in Japan, therefore, can be explained by imagining that in that age the Japanese hunted for their living and that originally they had come to this country from northeast Asia.

Recently, the Japanese have been actively researching the origin of *Jōmon* pottery. Some pottery similar to the Jōmon has been found around Lake Baikal in Siberia, which indicates that Jōmon pottery came to Japan from northeast Asia. Therefore we can deduce that people also came from northeast Asia to all parts of Japan wearing the above-mentioned type of clothing. We note, however, that with the introduction of agriculture into Japan, this type of clothing was replaced by that of southeast Asia. But even though we have this knowledge, it is difficult for us to put any other interpretation on the type of clothing worn in the early ages.

The trousers and the shirts of the early ages are thought to have been made of a knit-fibre material such as pteridophyta (tern), hemp palm, or China grass (ramie). Knitting, of course, is an old, inherited technique in which both the warp and the woof are intertwined by moving both of them.

Weaving, however, is a developed technique in which only the woof is moved to cross the warp, which is in a fixed position for interlacing. Recently some linen, which is a woven fabric, was discovered in Stone Age ruins in the Tōhoku area. From this discovery we conclude that weaving was used at a very early period.

The type of shirt on the clay figures is surprisingly similar to the uniform with stand-up collar worn by the Japanese student of today. These ancient shirts were tailored similarly for both sexes. It is an evidence of cultural development when men's and women's clothing



Dogu, the oldest human-shaped clay figure found in Japan, is wearing the dress of the stone age. Courtesy of Esaka Teruya.

is tailored differently. In Japan, this great difference in tailoring began to be seen only in the Heian Period (794–1191 A.D.).

The cultivation of rice, which we think originally came to Japan from southeast Asia, changed Japanese life and culture completely. The cultivation of rice not only caused people to move from the mountains to the plains but also brought about a more developed culture in which people began to produce salt and to cultivate vegetables as well as rice in their gardens.

It was at this stage in Japanese history that *kantōi* made its debut. *Kantōi* originally was the word given to the clothing worn by the southeast Asians. The original pattern of the Japanese kimono is *kantōi*. With the development of agriculture the Japanese stopped wearing northeast Asian-style clothing. Instead, the clothing which the farmers wore in the paddy fields was the style that came to Japan from southeast Asia along with the knowledge of rice cultivation. This clothing was fashioned by folding into two a square-shaped piece of cloth and then cutting an opening for the head.

Kantōi is regarded as important because it is the origin of *kimono*. When the Japanese wore these clothes with an opening for the head and tied a string or a rope around their waist they felt cool. Later, they cut the front of the cloth lengthwise into two equal parts and attached a triangular piece to each side and added sleeves as well. Thus the original pattern for the current kimono developed.

The Japanese, who throughout the centuries have been affected by the cultures of many foreign lands, have changed and adapted them to their own individual needs. Fashioning kimono is a typical example, and the Japanese imbibed foreign cultures not only when rice was introduced but also when the Chinese and Western cultures entered into Japan. The Japanese lack the ability to create a culture of their own because of the geographical disadvantage of being an island country. Indeed, they have been developing their own culture through selecting and absorbing foreign cultures.

In the early ages, besides *kantōi*, *kesai* (stole), which is called *yokohaba* in the book *Gishiwajin-den*, came to Japan. *Kesai* is a simple stole such as that worn by the Arabs which, although quite popular at one time, soon disappeared. *Kantōi*, on the other hand, survived for a long time. Some of the characteristics of *kantōi* can be seen in *kataginu* (clothing worn by the soldiers in the feudal ages, especially between the 16th and 19th centuries).

The wearing of trousers, however, partially survived even after the introduction of *kantōi*. Because of the influence of the Chinese and Korean cultures during the Old Tomb Age in Japan (2nd–6th centuries) which follows the Stone Age, men alone wore trousers. It was between the 4th and 7th centuries that the difference between men's and women's dress appeared for the first time: many men wore *hakama* (trousers) while many women wore *mo* (skirt) and a tight-sleeved dress. But among the common people the *kantōi* remained popular. Even now, the work clothing called *sodenashi* (sleeveless garment) can be seen in rural districts of Japan.

Mural Painting in Takamatsu Old Tomb Show the Process of Selecting a Culture

In March 1972, in Asuka village, Nara Prefecture, Takamatsu old tomb was excavated. This tomb is thought to have been constructed around the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, just after the period when Japanese envoys to China in the T'ang dynasty gradually brought into Japan a new culture. The people of the Asuka region must have been greatly influenced by this new culture, even to the point of adopting a new style of clothing. It is interesting to note that in the mural paintings of the tomb women are usually depicted wearing Japanese traditional dress, although we can recognize some influence from Korea in the patterns and style. The men are shown wearing Chinese-style dress. This is one example showing a Japanese adaptation of foreign culture. In other words, the men in the paintings wear *karaginu* (a Chinese-style shirt) and *hakama* (a divided skirt for men's formal wear). As this particular wearing apparel is Chinese-style and had not yet been worn in Japan, the men look very fashionable and modern. The women of those days wore the same *kinu* (shirt) and *mo* (skirt) that they had worn in the Old Tomb Age with little difference in the dyeing and tailoring. An extra piece of cloth set at the cuff of the *kinu* was influenced by the clothing of *Koguryo* (*kōkuri* in Korea) where an additional piece of cloth not only at the cuff but also at the neck was used. We note that the additional cloth at the neck was not adopted by the Japanese. It is also interesting to note that the Japanese women only partially adopted the traditional clothing of the Chinese and Koreans, while the men completely adopted the Chinese-style fashionable dress. Both men and women wore clothing that is similar to the way it is worn at Japanese wedding ceremonies, in which the groom wears a Western-style morning coat and trousers while his bride

wears the traditional kimono.

I was quite moved when I could see in the mural paintings in the Takamatsu old tomb the process which was followed by the Japanese in selecting foreign cultures. If these mural paintings had been executed in the Nara Period (710–794 A.D.) the women would have worn *karaginu* (Chinese-style shirt) and not the accordion-pleated skirt pictured.

The above-mentioned facts indicate that these murals of social customs were painted just before the culture of the Nara Period became fully Japanized. The excavation of the Takamatsu old tomb has another significance, moreover, in the respect that these paintings show us the process of the cultures of China and Korea as they began to be adopted in Japan.

Although the Japanese of the Heian Period (794–1191) were attracted by Chinese culture and imitated it, they found Chinese-style dress inconvenient for physical activities and too flamboyant and ornamental for their taste. The biggest drawback was that the clothing felt hot and sticky in the humid weather of Japan. So the Japanese, with their inherent adaptability, proceeded to change the Chinese-style garment into one that was suitable for them although they continued to call it *karaginu* (*T'ang* or Chinese dress). They made it into a garment with wide *hakama* and wide sleeves, which subsequently developed into what we call *jūnihitoe* (ceremonial robe). In this way the *karaginu*, which originated in China, changed into a completely Japanese-style garment.

On the other hand, the style of underwear did not change. *Kosode*, which was a popular undershirt at that time, is similar to the *tsutsusode* (tight-sleeved shirt) of the Old Tomb Age. No historical documents can be found relating to a loincloth, but we think it must have been the same as the loincloth of the Old Tomb Age. All through the centuries the process by which the Japanese selected and adopted foreign cultures appears to have been conscious and unconditional imitation. But as I have already mentioned, the Japanese are selective in what they choose and change what they adopt into what is favourable for them.

For example, the dyeing and weaving processes that the Japanese follow include the imitation and mastering the earlier techniques but add their own original techniques to develop the original ones. We can find numerous examples, such as:

Rōketsu-zome, a process in which

Dress of the Muromachi Period (1338–1573), Tokyo National Museum.

wax is used in the dyeing to make or arrest the pattern.

Kyōketsu-zome, a process in which a wooden board is used to arrest the pattern.

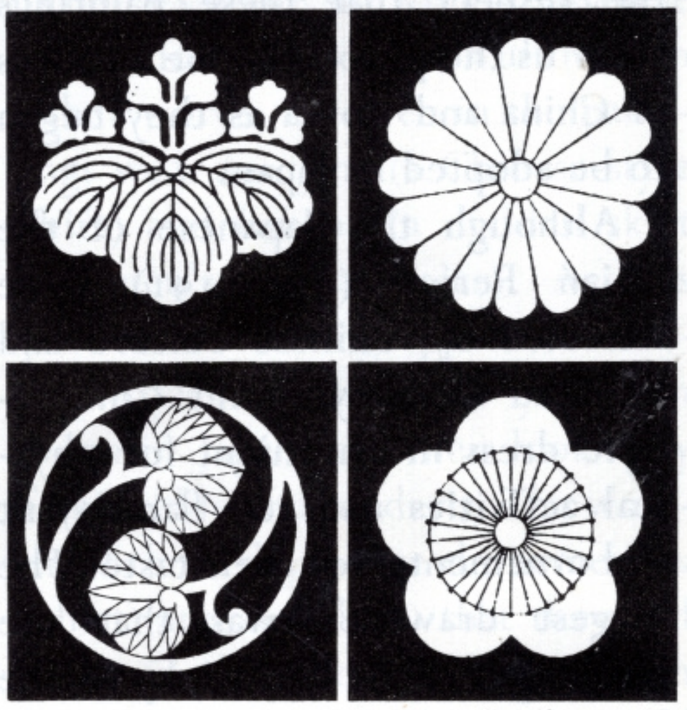
Kōketsu-zome, a process in which threads are employed to make the pattern.

Shishū, a special kind of embroidery is used, as well as a special method to apply gold or silver leaf.

Many devices were employed in the weaving process as well. Here I will introduce some of the techniques in use.

A material which is woven can be made with its pattern included in the weave. Other woven materials can be made with an applied shiny pattern, for example; in this case, a polishing agent will be used to get the effect. Still other woven materials might have, for instance, a transparent background on which figures are embossed. On some textiles a symbol meaning happiness is used as a pattern, such as the chrysanthemum, which is thought to have the power of preventing evil. Other flowers, and birds such as the phoenix, were often selected for patterns. The chrysanthemum, however, became a symbol exclusively for the use of the Imperial Family. A wisteria, a rhombus or a flower-shaped rhombus became the basic objects used for the patterns from which many family crests developed. But before I discuss the family crest I want to touch on the characteristics of Japanese designs.

Ordinary dress for women of the Edo Period.



Various family crests.

Where designs used in clothing patterns are concerned, those of most countries are abstract while those of Japan are free drawings dealing with both active and animate objects. Among these designs are a willow tree in the wind, an iris, streaming water, falling rain, a moving boat and so on. The flowers and the water look alive and real when women wear clothes having such patterns. It is thought that only in Japan women can walk outdoors feeling free because they are wearing a dress not patterned with a "flat" design or a formal abstract print, but with such living symbols that the dress will blend into the

A family crest can be seen on the dress of a kabuki actor.

natural scenery. Even now kimono are enhanced in their beauty by such freely-drawn living figures and designs. It is very interesting to note that the free drawing of such designs not only ornament the dress but also help the women to feel happy and free. After the many long, war-like ages of the past these designs became even more than ornamental—they became a sign of a culture typically Japanese.

Mizu-uri, a man who sells a cold drink made of sugar and rice-flour dumplings in summer.

The Family Crest: A Unique Japanese Ornament

It is a unique custom to display a family crest on the dress. In Europe only noblemen and members of the church used crests while in Japan most families have their own family crest. The reason is that neither in the West nor in China does there exist the Japanese concept called "*ie*" (which literally means house). But *ie* does not mean only a house, nor a home, nor a blood-related group. It is all of these. It is, in fact a blood-related group sharing common pride and interests. In Japan, therefore, a family crest became necessary in order to distinguish each *ie*.

Originally, the Japanese family crest is said to have been the picture of a wheel of a ox-wagon in which the court nobles of the Heian Period used to ride. Later each family ordered its own *jimon* (pattern) of a crest to be woven in order to wear it on their clothing. The Imperial Family, for example, used a figure called *kikutachiwaki*, which is a chrysanthemum pictured between two *tachiwaki* (bow-shaped parallel lines placed symmetrically on the two sides of the chrysanthemum). The Fujiwara family crest used a wisteria and the Ariwara family used a flower-shaped rhombus as its *jimon*. So just a look at the back of a person indicated to which family he belonged.

Dress of a city child in the Edo Period.

In the Kamakura Period (1192–1333), when warriors fought and competed for bravery in the battlefields, a family crest assumed more importance. With the family crest on a flag which was carried by a warrior on his back, the general could evalue which of his soldiers was fighting bravely. To earn a prize, warriors in the field of battle would carry such a flag. Later the objects of family crests changed from numbers to figures which had some connection with their religion or name. Some warriors had a new family crest presented to them by their general; other warrior had their own original crests which could be traced back to legends. Many other family crests appeared, such as those which were related to animals, plants, natural phenomena, letters and characters, etc., bringing the total number to about 12,000.

After the Kamakura Period, the warriors had *kiku-tsuzuri* (tanned leather) attached to their shoulders and sleeves to reinforce them. Later, dyed family crests took the place of these *kiku-tsuzuri*. At one time the warriors wore eight crests: one on the back, two on each sleeve, and three on their trousers. As time went on, the number of crests decreased to three and finally to one, while their significance became greater. Consequently, not only warriors but merchants and farmers as well began to use similar crests.

The family crest, which contains a wealth of information of various phenomena inside a small space, is said to be one of the most refined and developed of designs. In this way, pride of family and consciousness of individual position in life are condensed into the family crest beautifully and succinctly. 東

Jigoku —Narakah

by Dr. Nakamura Hajime

Jigoku (*Narakah* in Sanskrit) means underground prison and the place where people who perform evil deeds suffer because of them. The concept of *jigoku* was introduced to Japan from ancient India, and was subsequently accepted, changed, and developed by Japanese thinkers.

Jigoku 地獄 is an important concept in Buddhism. *Narakah* or *Niraya* in Sanskrit and *Pali* is intepreted as "*jigoku*". As we have already stated, *jogoku* is an underground prison and a place where evil men are re-born after their death and suffer pain. Buddhism adopted the concept of *jigoku* from already existing general beliefs. The idea that those who commit evil deeds fall into *jigoku* has been preached since the early period of Buddhism. It should be noted that in Buddhism the idea of retribution was connected with the idea of transmigration.

According to Buddhism, *jigoku* is

one of the five realms of existence (五道 *godō* or 五趣 *goshu*) or one of the six realms of the existence of lost living things. In Buddhism, the realms where living things transmigrate are classified into the five realms of existence called *goshu*. They are: 地獄 *jigoku* (Hell, or the realm of suffering); 餓鬼 *gaki* (Rapacity, or the realm where one is dominated by hungry ghosts); 畜生 *chikushō* (Animality, or the realm where one is dominated by instincts); 人間 *ningen* (Humanity or Tranquility); and 天上 *tenjō* (Heaven). Sometimes the realms are classified into six realms of existence called 六道 *rikudō* or 六趣 *rikushu*. 阿修羅 *ashura* (Anger) is added to the five above-mentioned realms. The concept of six realms of existence became prevalent in later ages especially in Japan, and the words 六道輪廻 *rikudō rinne* (Transmigration in the six realms), or *rikudō nōge no jizōbosatsu* (a Guardian Deity of the Six States of Existence) have been popular in Japan.

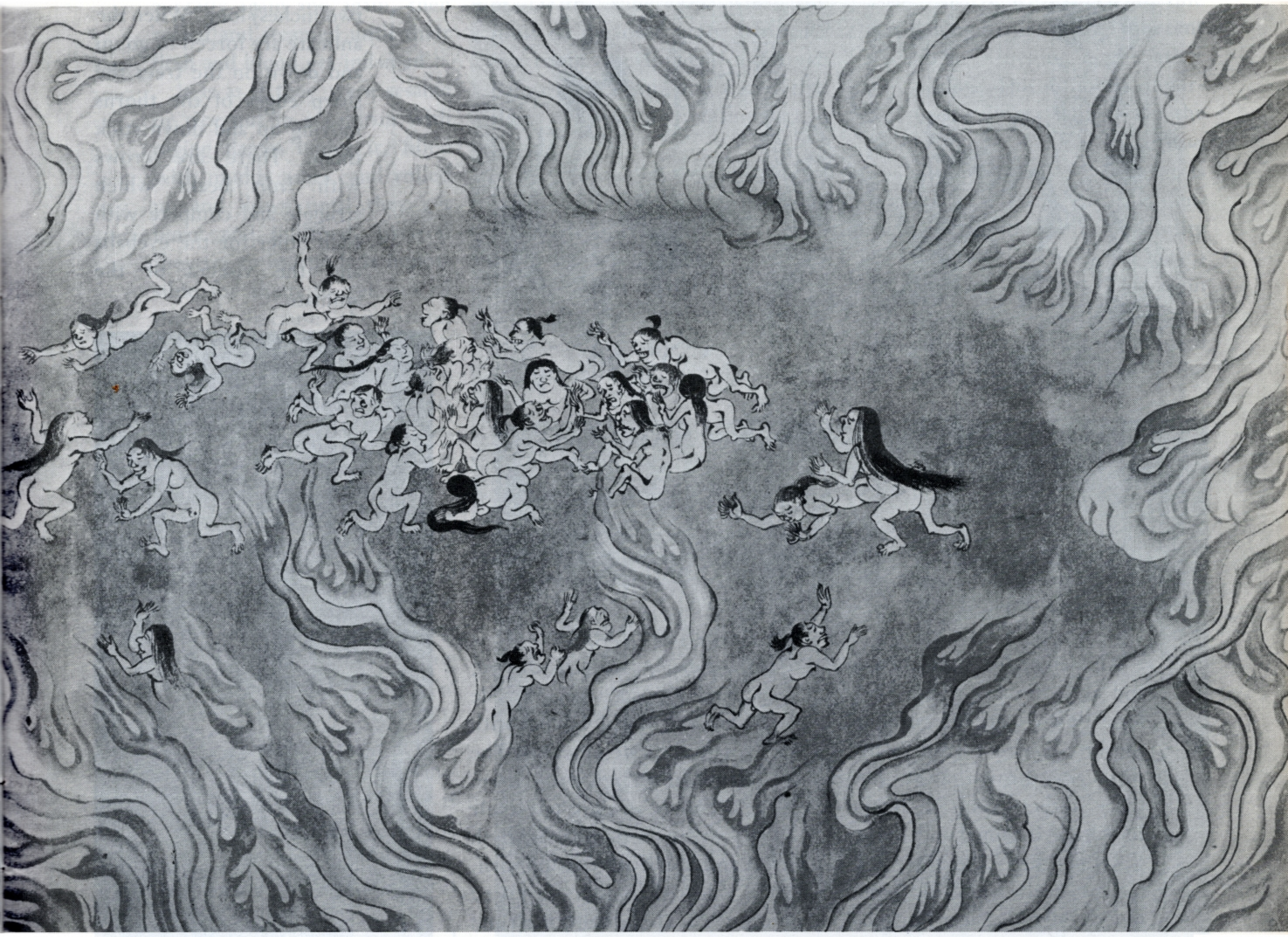
There are many kinds of statements about *jigoku* in the sutras. But here I would like to explain *jigoku* in accordance with the traditional interpretation written in the "倶舎論 *Gusharon*". It is as follows:

(A) 八熱地獄 *hachinetsu jigoku* (*usnā astau mahānarakāh*).

1. 無間地獄 *mukan jigoku, abi jigoku* (*avīcir mahānarakāh*). Apparently it is called *mukan jigoku* because in this hell people suffer pain without interval (*mukan* means no interval) and have no time for comfort. But the origin of the word is unknown and the interpretation is thought to be based upon popular etymology.
2. 極熱地獄 *gokunetsu jigoku* (*pratāpanah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because everybody in hell pours out raging flames and smoke and destroys each other.
3. 炎熱地獄 *ennetsu jigoku* (*tāpanah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because flames always surround one and burn him and he cannot bear the flames.
4. 大叫地獄 *daikyō jigoku* (*mahārauravah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because people in hell suffer with agony and scream very loudly on account of severe pain.
5. 號叫地獄 *gōkyū jigoku* (*rauravah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because one produces screams of torment as many kinds of pain oppress him.
6. 衆合地獄 *shūgō jigoku* (*samghārah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because many kinds of pain converge and oppress and "destroy" the people in hell.
7. 黒繩地獄 *kokujō jigoku* (*kālasūtrah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because one is bound with 黒業 *kokugo* (evil karma) and is cut into minute pieces.
8. 等活地獄 *tōkatsu jigoku* (*samfīvah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because many kinds of pain oppress man and he suffers from them as if he were suffering the pain of death, but he returns to his original state.

(B) 八寒地獄 *hakkan jigoku* (*sītanarakā astau*).

1. 摩訶鉢特摩地獄 *makahadoma jigoku* (*mahāpadmah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because one's form changes because of extreme cold and one is broken into pieces as if he were a big crimson lotus flower.
2. 鉢特摩地獄 *hadoma jigoku* (*padmah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because severe cold presses one and forces him to change his form and breaks him into pieces as if he were a large crimson lotus flower.
3. 嗢鉢羅地獄 *ubara jigoku* (*utpalah*) [*narakah*]). This name is applied because the severe cold presses one and his figure is changed. It is broken into pieces as if he were a blue lotus flower.
4. 虎虎婆地獄 *kokoba jigoku* (*huhuvah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because one produces the voice of huhuvah as he cannot bear pain.



"Jigoku" depicted in "Jigoku-Zoshi", a masterpiece of the 12th or 13th centuries, which is now kept at the Tokyo National Museum.

5. 臞臞婆地獄 *kuwa kuwa ba jigoku* (*hahavah* [*narakah*]). The name is applied because one produces the voice of hahavah for he cannot bear pain.
6. 頞嗏吨地獄 *aseta jigoku* (*atatah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because one produces the voice of atatah as he cannot bear pain.
7. 尼剌部陀地獄 *nirabuda jigoku* (*nirarbudah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because the severe cold presses one and blisters (*arbuda*) break on his skin.
8. 頞部陀地獄 *abuda jigoku* (*arbudah* [*narakah*]). This name is applied because the severe cold presses one and blisters (*arbuda*) develop on his skin.

The reasons why those names are given is that in those *jigoku* severe cold oppresses animate beings and their bodies and voices are forced to change.

The description of the sixteen incidental *jigoku* (*utsada*) in particular which are incidental to *hachionetsu jigoku*, is very realistic. "俱舎論 Gusharon" can be regarded as one of the original books upon which descriptions of *jigoku* in Japan have been apparently based. Here I would like to introduce a part of this book and include some explanations.

Four of the eight *jigoku* (*naraka* 捺落迦) have four sides each. Each side has a gate and outside each gate there is a *zō* 增 There are sixteen (*utsada*, incidental *jigoku*) all together.

(1) First of all there is 煻煨增 *tōezō* (*kukūlam* [*utsadah*]). In this *zō*, *tōe* (heated ashes) come up to one's knee.

A scene from the "Gaki-Zōshi."

Animate beings walk there and as soon as they put their legs down (in the original Sanskrit book we read "when they are thrown away into there") their skin, flesh and blood are inflamed and burnt.

When they take their legs out of it the skin, flesh and blood adopt their original form.

(2) Secondly, there is 屍糞増 *shifun zō* (*kunapam gūtha-mrttikā* [*utsadah*]). This *zō* is filled with the mud of excrement. There are worms called *nyankutā* (*nyankutā*) with a beak as sharp as a needle. Their bodies are white and heads are black.

When the animate beings walk there their skin is cut, their bones are torn and the marrow of their bones is eaten up.

(3) The third *zō* is called 鋒刃増 *hōjinzō* (*ksuadhārah* [*utsadah*]). In this *zō* there are three kinds of *zō*.

1. The first one is 刀刃路 *tōjinro* (*asidhārah ksuradhārācito ma-hāpathah*). Here in this *zō*, *daidō* (broad street) is made of a sword which is put with its blade side upwards. The animate beings walk here. As soon as they put their legs on it their skin, flesh and blood are cut and torn. When their legs are raised out of it the skin, flesh and blood revert to their previous form.
2. The second one is 劍葉林 *kenyōrin* (*asipattravana*). Here the leaves of trees consist of sharp sword blades. When the animate walk here the leaves are blown away off the trees, and cut and stick the bodies of the animate. Their flesh and bones are torn into pieces. There are *uhakugu* (dogs with black spots) which bite and eat them.
3. The third one is 鐵刺林 *teshirin* (*ayahśālmalī-vana*). Here the trees have sharp thorns on them. They are sixteen *shi* (three feet and two inches) long. When the animate are forced to go up and down on the trees the sharp edges of the thorns moving up and down stick them. There are crows with iron beaks which struggle and compete with each other for the eyeballs and the viscera of the animate.

A picture of Enma (Yama). The prevalent Indian belief that the King of Death, Yama, judges the dead in "jigoku" appeared in the early Buddhist sutra.

Although these three categories are different from each other they belong to one *zō* because all of them have iron blades.

(4) The fourth one is 烈河増 *rekkazō* (*utsado nadī Vaitarani*). This large *zō* is filled with boiling *kansui* (alkaline water, *ksārodaka*). When the animate get into it they sink and rise to the surface again and again. They are forced to be placed upright, upside-down and hori-

zontally again and again, then rolled and steamed until their flesh and blood get inflamed.

It is as if they were sesame or rice put in a caldron with raging flames under it, filled with muddy ashes, and rolled up and down until they get burnt and inflamed. Even if they try to escape it is impossible for them to get out of this *zō* because the prison soldiers standing on either bank of the river with spears force them to return. This river is like a pond and the above-mentioned three *zō* are like a garden.

The four of the eight *jigoku* have four sides each. Each side has one *zō*, making sixteen *zō* all together. The origin of the word *zō* comes from the fact that punishment and suffering become increasingly severe (*zō* literally means 'increasingly'). After the severe damage inflicted in the original *jigoku* another damage is suffered in the *zō*. That is why this name is applied. Someone explained the origin of the name by stating that "the animate meet one another suffering there after they come out of the original *jigoku*." Many of those *jigoku* are thought to come from Hindu mythology. For example, *rekkazō* is called River Vaitarani (*nadī Vaitaranī*) in the original book in Sanskrit. The river divides the earth from the lower world according to the descriptive poetry called "The *Mahābhārata*".

Many other *jigoku* exist. They are called '孤地獄 *kojigoku*.' They are brought about by each *gō* (karma) of every different human being.

The prevalent thought in India that the King of Death, Yama, judges the dead in *jigoku* appeared in the early Buddhist sutra. The sutra explains that Yama, the King of Death, supervises when the souls of the dead arrive at *jigoku* as a result of evil deeds performed before their death, and assures that they are given punishment in *jigoku*.

The philosophical significance of *jigoku* was made more profound especially by Tendai Daishi 天台大師 in China. *Jigoku* exists not far away from us and it is a state of ourselves. He classified the people in general into ten states. The ten states consist of 地獄 *jigoku*, 餓鬼 *gaki*, 畜生 *chikushō*, 阿修羅 *ashura*, 人間 *ningen*, 天上 *tenjō* (Realm of Heaven), 声聞 *shōmon* (Realm of Learning), 縁覚 *engaku* (Realm of Absorption, 菩薩 *bosatsu* (Realm of Bodhisattva), and 仏 *hotoké* (Realm of Buddha). They are called 十界 *jikkai* (Ten Realms). One of the interesting teachings in Tendai Buddhism is that of "十界互具 *jikkai gogu*", that is, whatever realm one may belong to one has the inherent possibility to belong to the other nine realms. This notion is important because even Buddha has the possibility to belong to *jigoku*.

Therefore a human being who is between the states of enlightenment and illusion has the possibility not only to belong to *jigoku* but to become Buddha as well. He is an intermediate being just like a pendulum. Tendai Daishi established the theory that *jigoku* is one of the states that exists in every human being.

Almost all Japanese Buddhist sects were established under the influence of Tendai Buddhism. Therefore, the theories about *jigoku* in Tendai Buddhism had a definite influence upon other Japanese sects. I think it is "住生要集 *ōjōyōshū*", written by Genshin, that

The description of "jigoku" in Japan is realistic and cruel

"Jizobosatsu" (Guardian Deity) depicted on silk cloth, 9th century, Chinese (from "Sekai-no-Bijutsu-kan, published by Kodan-sha).

"Jizobosatsu" (Guardian Deity); Japanese, unknown period. ⬇

provided the Japanese general public with such a realistic and vivid notion of *jigoku*. Genshin contrasted *rikudō*, that is, the six stages of being in illusion, to the solemnity of 極楽浄土 *gokuraku jōdo* (Heaven). As *jigoku* was explained first in the book its influence was great. The book was compiled from the various original sutras. The explanations in the book had the great effect of making the general public feel *jigoku* sensibly near to them and concrete.

According to the doctrine of Tendai Buddhism, to which Genshin belonged, *jigoku* is not away from human beings but is one of their aspects. It was very natural to find some aspects of human beings in the description of *jigoku*.

Later, with the prosperity of 浄土教 Jōdokyō (Jōdo Buddhism) *jigoku* was contrasted to Jōdo (Heaven). Consequently the concept of *jigoku* became very prevalent among Japanese thinkers and people.

In Japan during and after the Heian Period (794–1191 A.D.) a series of pictures of *jigoku* were painted called *jigoku hen, jigoku hensō, jigoku e* or *jigoku zu*. In this case *hen* means "to be transformed and appear." In these pictures the situations in *jigoku* were depicted and the people in *jigoku* are seen suffering from pain continuously.

Now, we want to emphasize the fact that the description of *jigoku hen* in Japan is realistic, cruel, and sometimes even sadistic. These pictures constitute a very exceptional phenomenon in Japanese painting. Generally speaking, very few Japanese pictures deal with cruelty or brutality. Even pictures of wars are vague and unrealistic. Western pictures, compared to Japanese ones, are graphic. Their cruelty has realistic and penetrating aspects. Japanese war pictures painted on *byōbu* (folding screens) or *emaki-mono* (picture scrolls) are symbolic and usually look vague. When they are seen from a little distance we wonder whether the figures in the pictures are fighting or playing. On the contrary, the Western war pictures are so realistic in their depicting injured or bleeding soldiers that we feel as if the painful groans of these soldiers came out of the pictures.

Especially in the case of religious pictures the contrast between the West and the East is extreme. The merciful, well-rounded features of *Hotoke Bosatsu* (Buddha) can serve a sharp contrast to the depicting of the bloody suffering of martyrs or saints. I have visited Western churches and Western museums as well, and sometimes I cannot bear to look at Western religious paintings. This is the impression of many Japanese visitors who have grown up in a Buddhist atmosphere. However, *jigoku hen* is exceptional. In the West not many pictures of Hell have been painted and most of these do not depict Hell with minute detail. The Bible contains very simple passages about Hell. I cannot think of any other significant book but Dante's *Divine Comedy* which offers detailed descriptions of Hell.

But here in Japan many pictures relating to *jigoku* developed and their imagery is very cruel. What is the reason for such a development?

According to the teachings of Buddhism, *jigoku* is just one of the six states in which the people wander about. Also it is just *one* of the ten realms according to the teachings of Tendai Buddhism. Nevertheless, why was there so much emphasis put on *jigoku*? The official Japanese religion was Buddhism, or, correctly speaking, Mahāyānist Buddhism. Far more correctly speaking, one of the Mahāyānist Buddhist branches. It was Buddhism where mercy was emphasized specially.

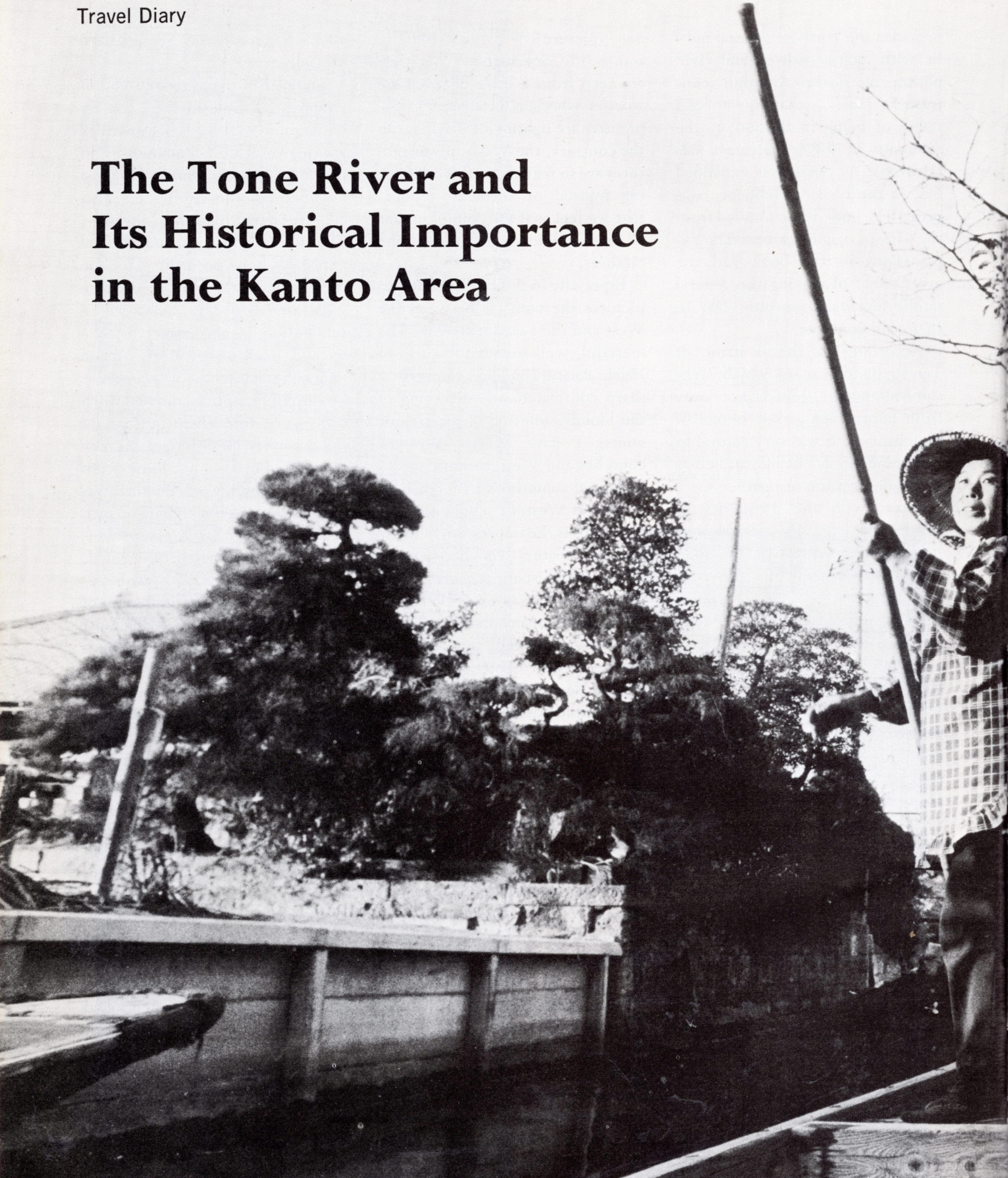
The god in the West is a god of judgment. People in the West do not commit evil deeds because they are in awe of God. But there is no judgment in Buddhism. Buddha has compassion even for the wicked. He never punishes anybody. The wicked man is judged and punished only according to the theory of reward in accordance with one's deeds. One gets a retribution in accordance with a wicked deed. The most wicked men suffer punishment in *jigoku*.

The public were frightened when they were told that they would suffer severe punishment if they committed evil doings. But even in *jigoku* the mercy of Buddha was emphasized. Even such wicked men as those who suffered severe punishment in *jigoku* can be redeemed.

There is one way towards redemption: to ask for the mercy of Buddha. According to Mahāyānist Buddhism, especially Jōdo Buddhism, any evildoer can be redeemed. Even an evildoer who falls into *jigoku* can be redeemed. Consequently, preaching about fear in *iigoku* means preaching about the great mercy of Buddha. In this respect the situation is very different from that in the West. In the West one who is adjudged by God and falls into Hell can never be redeemed.

There are some different interpretations about redemption. But I do not think that it is wrong to state that the Western people in general have the above-mentioned point of view. On the other hand, according to the Buddhist religion, even the people in *jigoku* can be redeemed. Therefore, according to some scholars, *jigoku* in Buddhism is different from Hell in Christianity. *Jigoku* in fact becomes more similar to Purgatory than to Hell.

The Tone River and Its Historical Importance in the Kanto Area



In Itako, a town on the Toné, boats used to be an important means of transportation. Automobiles, however, have replaced them and the only boats that remain are for sightseeing.

Rivers in Japan, compared to those of other countries, are generally neither long nor do they have large drainage areas. The river that has the largest drainage area is the Toné, which flows through the Kanto plain from northwest to southeast and empties into the Pacific Ocean. The Japanese people consider the Toné to be one of the most important rivers of their country. Its nickname, "Bando Taro," illustrates their esteem of this river: "Bando" is the old name of the Kanto district and "Taro" is a name often given to the eldest son, who is the most important child in the Japanese family.

Besides the Toné, the other two great rivers are the Chikugo, which flows through the Tsukushi plains of Kyushu, and the Yoshino, which flows through Shikoku. They are nicknamed "Tsukushi Jiro" and "Shikoku Saburo" respectively. Jiro and Saburo are names often given to the second and third sons respectively in the order of their importance in the family.

It is not simply because the above-mentioned three rivers are long that the Japanese people have affectionately given them these nicknames, but also because these rivers have always played an important role in the economy of the population who lived in their drainage areas.

From ancient times, the Japanese have used rivers for irrigation purposes. The records of "Handen-shūju-no-ho," the law defining the distribution of farmland, show that the Japanese people used the water of rivers for rice cultivation both in the plain areas and upstream in the more rugged areas that are close to their sources.

These rivers have played a further role in the lives of the people as a means of transportation. The Toné River has been especially important in this respect. In the Edo Period (1603–1867), when the Tokugawa feudal government was established in Edo (now Tokyo), the Toné began to increase greatly in importance as a transportation artery for carrying goods to Edo from the Ōu district in the west. Until the Tokugawa government was established at Edo the Kanto district had not been a center of politics or culture, but after its establishment river port towns began to appear and develop near Edo along the Toné. During the times of the economic prosperity of these towns there appeared the "Yukyo-burai-no-to," i.e., those who protected the weak and established their influence in an area even though they might defy the national laws.

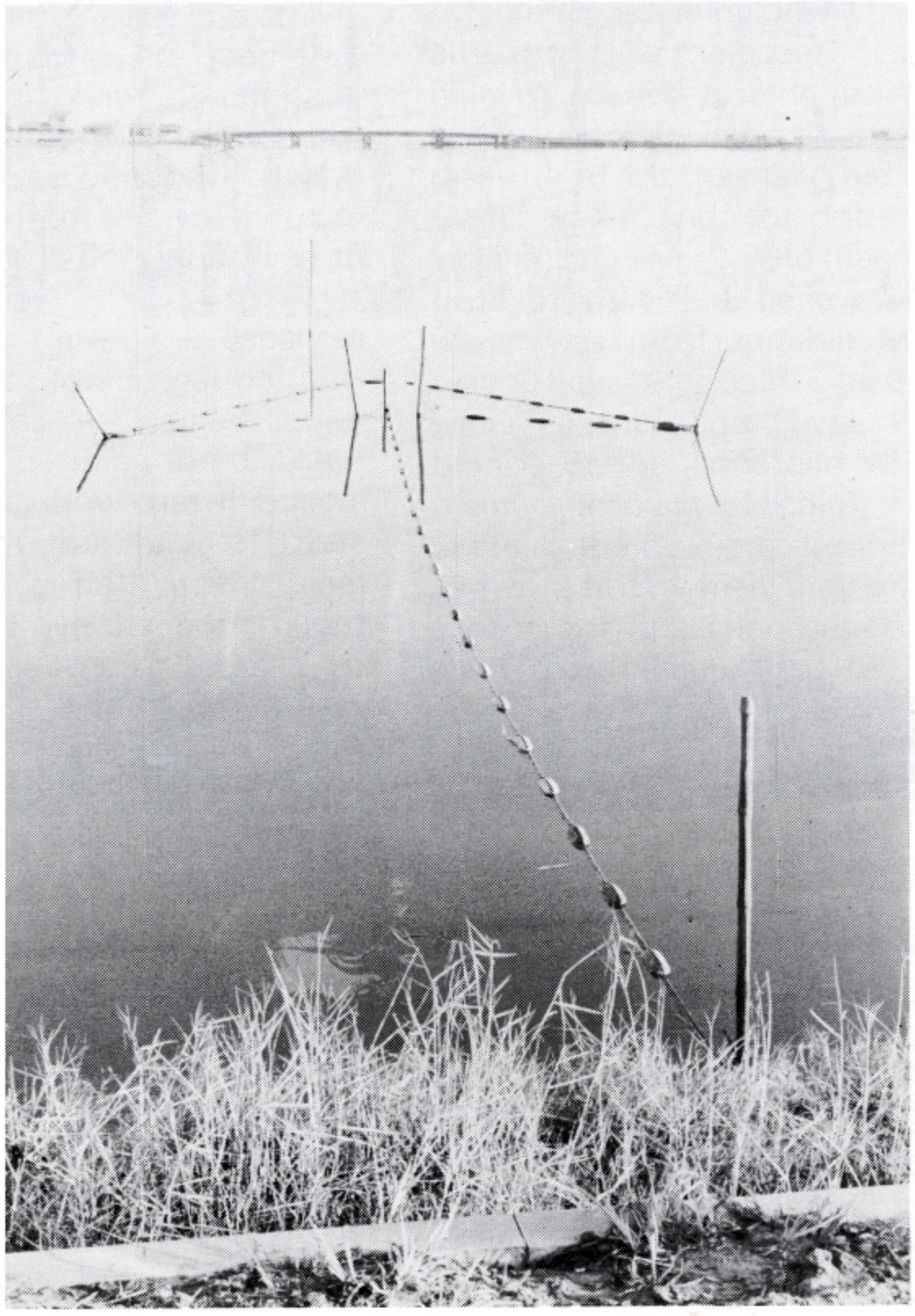
The word Toné reminds many Japanese people of the duels fought by those Yukyo-burai-no-to in the areas near the river during the Edo Period. The great interest shown by the Japanese people in the Yukyo-burai-no-to can be mainly attributed to some Edo Period writers who presented them with fictional accounts of the duels. These accounts followed the model of some popular Chinese books featuring a similar group of robbers in China. Even now, many films and TV programs often feature the Yukyo-burai-no-to, some of whom really existed.

It is not, however, only the Yukyo-burai-no-to who used the Toné River as their base. Cultured people of Edo often enjoyed going down the Toné on a boat to view the beautiful scenery. A man of refined taste who lived at the end of the Edo Period stated: "It is a pleasure of life to make tea with such fresh water and to drink it while viewing the river." The men of refined taste of that time believed that river water was most suitable for making tea. They especially favoured the water of the Kinu River, which is a branch of the Toné and which flows mainly through Tochigi Prefecture. Some of the residents around the Tone owned a boat which they seldom used except for special occasions such as Buddhist ceremonies or receiving guests. Then quite often the masters would send their servants on this boat to fetch water from the Kinu River in order to make excellent tea.

The scenery around the Toné River has changed as the river's role, especially as a transportation artery, has become rather unimportant. Nowadays, a boat can seldom be seen on the river and most of the river towns which used to be prosperous have declined. The few river boats and old inns that are still there are the only reminders of years of past prosperity.

Reeds which grow along the River Toné are much taller than a man. Water birds such as the snowy heron inhabit this area.

The Kanto plain is the largest in the country. Viewing the sunset in this river-side district is very impressive. ➡



The introduction of farm machinery saves much labor. A new machine called a combine separates the rice kernels from the stem which must be burnt during the winter. Viewing the burning of these stems is a poetic experience.

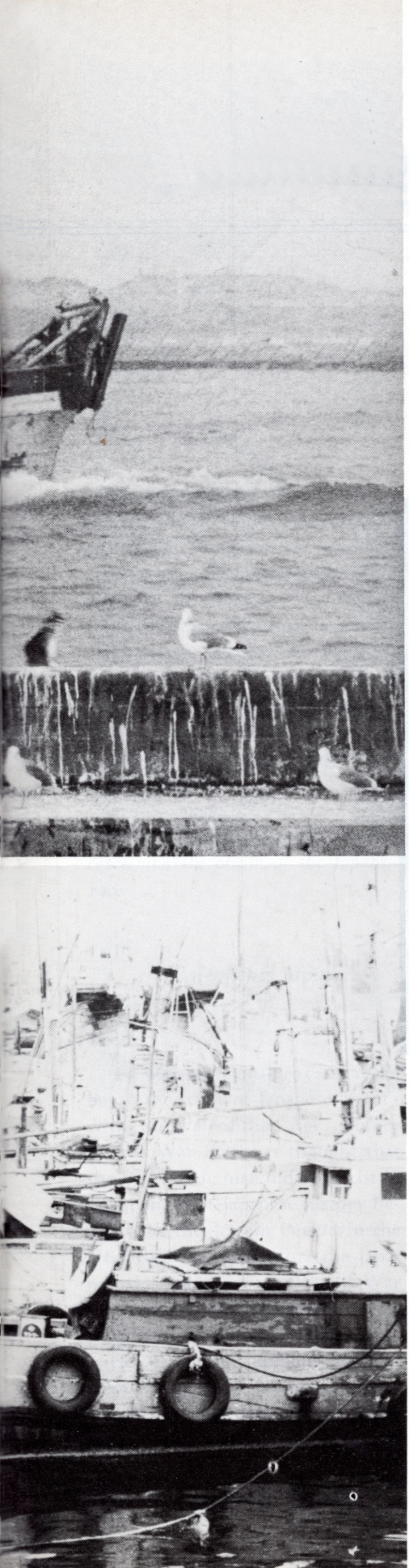
Small fish such as white beit, which are caught in bamboo nets, are served at the table.

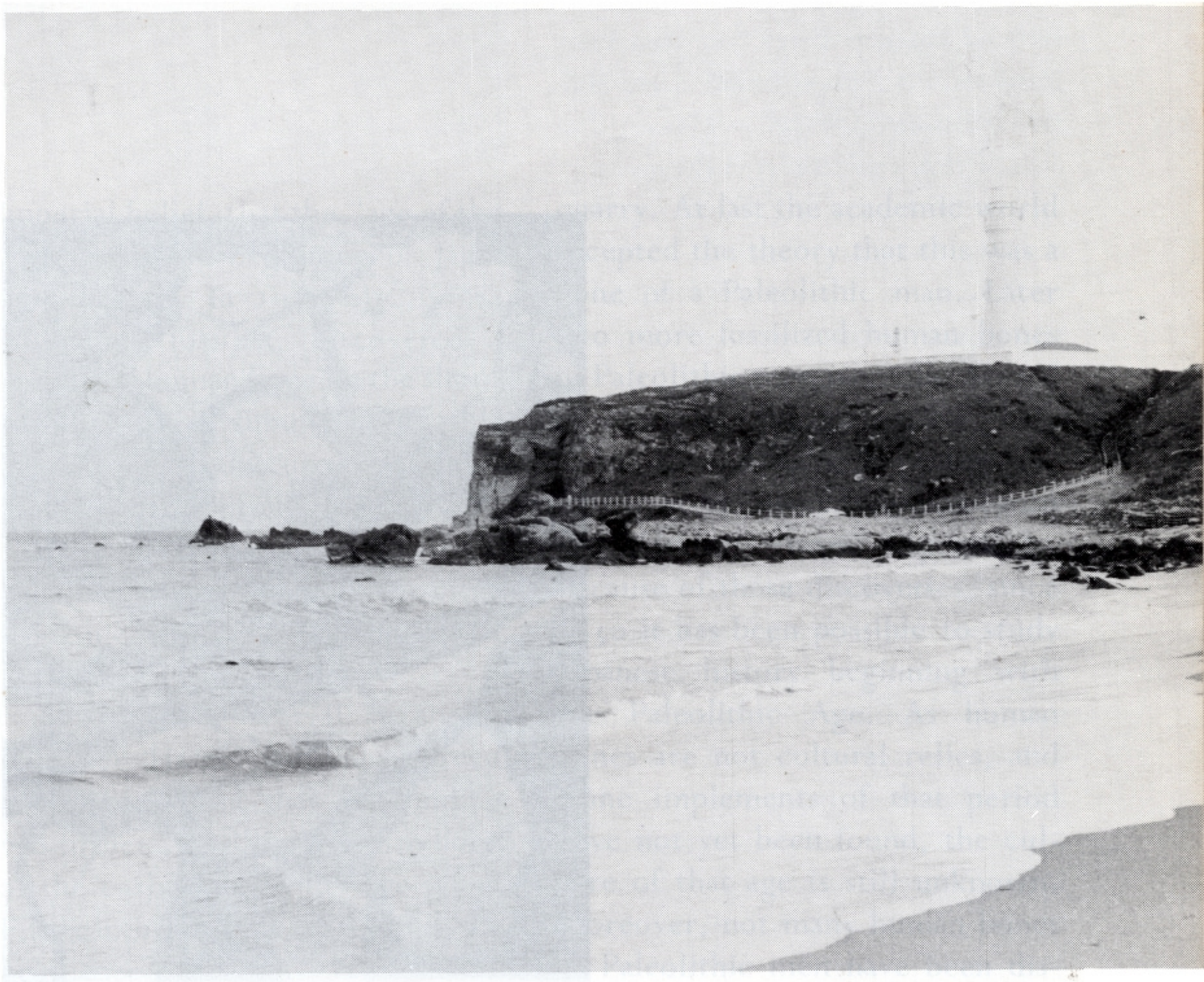
"The stone of the god" can be seen in Kashima shrine near the Toné. ➡

Cedar leaves are often burnt in the morning and the rising smoke divides the sunshine into black and white stripes. (Kashima shrine).

Sawara, a river town situated on the bank of the Toné, was once prosperous. Sengoku buné, a boat carrying rice, shown on an irrigation canal during the Edo Period. A few houses of the Edo Period still can be seen in this town, called "Kurashiki in the east".

The statue of a samurai which guards Kashima shrine.





↑ The lighthouse in Inubosaki where the Toné River empties into the Pacific Ocean.

↖ A fishing boat entering the port of Choshi.

← The harbor at Choshi, the biggest fishing port in Japan, is always filled with boats.

The Origins of Japanese Race

by Professor Mizuno Yū

The origin of the Japanese race is still the central subject in many fields of research. Many scholars have been attempting to solve the problems of the origin of the Japanese race in such varied fields as archaeology, linguistics, anthropology, folk-lore etc. But many questions still remain unanswered. Although several different theories have been advanced they are within the area of assumption; no definite conclusions have been drawn.

In the column of "History" of this issue we shall introduce some questions concerning the origin of the Japanese race.

Paleolithic Japan

IT WAS NOT until 1950 that we began the study of Japanese history with the Paleolithic Age. Before World War II it was thought that the Paleolithic man did not exist in Japan and that Japanese history began with the Jōmon Period in the Neolithic Age. Therefore the Japanese historians of pre-World War II wrote the history of Japan beginning with the Jōmon Period.

However, they seldom, if ever, wrote about the Japanese history which preceded that period. They considered, in accordance with the Imperial belief, that the "age of the gods" was the beginning of Japanese history. In 1931 Mr. Naora Nobuo, a fossilist, discovered a fossillized human bone on the shore at Nishiyagi, a suburb of Akashi-city, Hyōgo Prefecture. He gave it the name Nishiyagi-yōkotsu and considered it to be a bone of a Paleolithic man. But the Japanese academic world of that time did not accept his theory.

After World War II an anatomist, Mr. Hasebé Kotondo, agreed with Mr. Naora that the finding was in fact a fossillized human bone of the early Paleolithic Age when Pithecanthropus and Sinanthropus pekinensis existed. He stated, moreover, that it was a bone of the true ancestral race of the Japanese and accordingly called it Nipponanthropus Akashiensis. In 1948 he reiterated that the Japanese race is pure-blooded and its origin could be traced back to Nipponanthropus Akashiensis, contradicting the popular belief that the Japanese race was mixed-blooded. But the Japanese academic world did not accept his statement.

In 1950 Mr. Naora discovered another piece of bone of a Paleolithic man which he called "Kuzuu-primitive man" because it was found in the town of Kuzuu, Tochigi prefecture, in a limestone quarry. At last the academic world accepted the theory that this was a bone of a Paleolithic man. Later two more fossilized human bones of Paleolithic men were discovered in Mikkabi, Shizuoka prefecture, and in Ushikawa, Aichi prefecture, which were named Mikkabi-man and Ushikawa-man respectively. Because of those discoveries, since 1950 it has been possible to study Japanese history beginning with the Paleolithic Age. As human bones are not cultural relics, and stone implements of that period have not yet been found, the culture of that age is still unknown. Moreover, not many human bones of Paleolithic men have been discovered. Therefore even now it is not known if Jōmon-jin (the men of the Neolithic age in Japan) were the descendants of the Paleolithic man.

Judging from the small amount of data that we have, it is impossible to draw any conclusions to determine whether the Paleolithic man had ceased to exist when Japan was separated from the Asian continent and became an isolated chain of islands at some time between the diluvial and the alluvial epochs, or whether some of the people remained in the Japanese islands and are the true descendants of the Jōmon-jin.

Questions on the Origin of the Jōmon Culture

It is a matter of great importance for our historians to connect the Paleolithic Age with the Neolithic Age, that is, the Jōmon period. Now that the existence of the Paleolithic Age is confirmed there are many questions to be answered concerning the relations between the Paleolithic man and the Jōmon man as well as the Paleolithic culture and the Jōmon culture.

In Iwajuku, a suburb of the city of Kiryū in Gunma prefecture, stone implements were discovered buried in the upper part of the Kanto loamy geological strata. Following this discovery, stone implements were excavated throughout the country. The culture to which they belonged is called the non-earthenware culture. Although it is not definitely known to which age the non-earthenware culture belongs, archaeologists believe that, geologically speaking, it belongs to the latter part of the diluvial epoch or to the beginning of the alluvial epoch judging from the small size of the stone implements discovered. In other words, scholars believe that these stone implements belong to the end of the Paleolithic Age or to the beginning of the Middle Stone Age.

But it seems impossible to connect this culture, which had only stone implements, with that of the Kuzuu, Ushikawa, or Mikkabi-man mentioned above.

When we think about the relations between the non-earthenware and the Jōmon cultures, that is, about the origin of the Jōmon culture, these small stone implements assume immense importance. The small stone implements of the non-earthenware culture, especially those found in the town of Yadegawa and which are believed to be of the late period in that culture, are considered to have been related to the Saen small stone implements cultures of China, the cultures of the extreme northern regions that extend from the Aleutian Islands to Alaska, and also the cultures of Siberia and Mongolia.

The fossillized human bone of the early Paleolithic Age named Nipponanthropus Akashiensis.

The relics of the Middle Stone Age that have been found at Darby Cape, Alaska, are thought to belong to the period between 6000–5000 B.C. The small stone implements which were found at Yadegawa, Japan, are thought to belong to the very end of the Middle Stone Age. Therefore, if the relationships between these two cultures can be

proved, they would seem to offer a key to solving the puzzle of the origin of the Jōmon culture.

A great deal of archaeological research is needed to solve the question of whether the non-earthenware culture in Japan belongs to the Middle Stone Age or not and whether this culture came down to the Jōmon culture directly.

Questions on Jōmon Culture

I HOPE THAT the origin of the Jōmon culture in Japan can be clearly defined. Also, that the relations between the culture of the Middle Stone Age and that of the Jōmon Period can be more firmly established.

Here I want to raise some questions about the Neolithic Age in Japan which lasted several thousand years and in which the Jōmon culture was born and took root until its place was taken by the Yayoi culture. The Jōmon culture is generally considered to be stagnant, apparently slow in developing, in change and in reform and also quite traditional: change seems to have pursued its own pace in the Japanese islands. The Jōmon earthenware in its early stages was pointed at the bottom, or had the same shape as the usual earthenware that had been produced since the end of the Middle Stone Age. The Jōmon earthenware which was found in all parts of Japan had a straw-rope pattern. If an earlier pattern of that earthenware can be discovered its origin can be definitely proved. But as until now no such earthenware nor pottery has been found, its origin is still uncertain.

Later, an earthenware with a sea-shell or comb-tooth pattern appeared, and flat-bottomed utensils replaced those with pointed bottoms. In this way a culture of cylindrical earthenware developed. The question whether changes in the technique and shape of the Jōmon earthenware were brought about by a foreign culture or developed independently has not yet been solved. The solution to this and other questions is expected to be of great significance not only to the study of the earlier stages of the Jōmon culture but also to the origin of the Japanese race.

Questions on the Origin of the Dōkō Cultivation

APPARENTLY A relatively big change took place in the Jōmon culture between the early and middle Jōmon periods. Skulls were discovered in which a delichocranic factor appeared and which showed a notable change from brachycranic to mesocranic bone. This change most probably took place between the early and middle Jōmon periods.

The bone of the Kuzuu primitive man.

In that period also, Katsusaka-style earthenware was popular. This earthenware was usually large, had complicated shapes, and was decorated copiously and elegantly with diversified figures formed by protruding lines.

This period can be regarded as the "golden age" of Jōmon culture. Its earthenware has been excavated only in the southern and western Kantō districts and in the mountainous forest regions of the Kōshin district. Therefore it must have been only a local culture. The earthenware that has been excavated in other areas near the above-mentioned regions shows distinct local variations. But we notice that the various Japanese cultures of that time, although different from each other locally, had a common basis.

The Katsusaka earthenware cultural area was primarily concentrated in the eastern inland parts of the island of Honshū.

The changes that occurred in the culture of the middle Jōmon period were probably due to the adoption and acceptance of a different culture.

The origins and geographical area of this new "original" culture have not been determined as yet. Scholars agree that the new culture could not have appeared independently and spontaneously.

Since the Katsusaka cultural area lies in mountainous forest regions, the people who had brought this culture must have possessed the knowledge of how to live in such a region. On the other hand, the people of the Jōmon Period are thought to have been primarily hunters and fishermen. Thus we conclude that the people who brought the Katsusaka culture were those who got accustomed to living in forests but who had abandoned their homes near some large body of water. They subsequently learn-

A group of stone impliments excavated in Iwajuku, Gunma Prefecture.

ed to cut down the trees of virgin forests in preparation for farming. This theory is substantiated by excavation of axes made of stone and the discovery of other relics.

The farming which these people practiced was a primitive "dōkō" cultivation, which took place after cutting down the trees of a forest and setting them afire. Thus contrary to common belief we assert that farming, although primitive, existed in the Jōmon Period.

In world history farming cultures appeared in the Neolithic Age. In fact the society and culture of that age was called "the Neolithic Revolution", by the noted English archaeologist V. G. Childe. Therefore it is not at surprising that a local farming culture existed in the middle of the Jōmon Period.

In the case of Japan as a whole, farming was conspicuously backward. Even if the beginning of "dōkō" farming can be traced with absolute certainty to the middle of the Jōmon Period, there still remains the question of whether this particular farming technique came from somewhere else or whether it developed spontaneously inside the Japanese islands.

The Non earthenware Period	(? – 7000, 8000 B.C.)
The Jomon Period	(7000, 8000 B.C. – 3rd century B.C.)
The Yayoi Period	(3rd century B.C. – 3rd century A.D.)
The Old Tomb Period	(the end of the 3rd century – the middle of the 6th century.)

Questions on the Origins of the Yayoi Culture

THE YAYOI culture, which followed the Jōmon culture, also poses many unanswered questions. So do its origins.

Since the Meiji Period it was thought the Yayoi earthenware was so different from the Jōmon earthenware in every respect, including its shape, way of baking and so on, that it was a product of a completely different or foreign culture. It was easy to draw the conclusion from this theory that the people who developed the Yayoi earthenware belonged to a different race from the Jōmon people and were newcomers to the Japanese islands. It was further assumed that the Jōmon earthenware must have been made by the Ainu and the Yayoi earthenware by the Japanese.

Additional theories emerged which argued that the Yayoi earthenware had a south-Asian lineage (Yayoi earthenware used to be called "Malay" earthenware), or that its origin could be traced to China and Korea.

The reasons behind these two theories are as follows:

(1) The Jōmon and the Yayoi earthenware, at first sight, look completely different.

(2) The way of baking of the Yayoi earthenware is similar to the Chinese way.

(3) No earthenware which is of the same type as the Jōmon or which can be regarded to have earlier patterns has been discovered in either China or in Korea.

(4) The Yayoi culture included the cultivation of rice and the forging of iron and bronze implements.

From the study of the iron and bronze implements, the Yayoi culture is thought to have developed from the Chinese culture, while from the standpoint of the cultivation of rice, customs, and religious rites it is considered to have developed from south-Asian cultures.

These are the two main theories which have been advanced concerning the development of the Yayoi culture. Furthermore it has been assumed that either the Chinese and Koreans or the South Asians brought the Yayoi culture to Japan.

Later research, however, has proven that the Jōmon and the Yayoi earthenwares were not necessarily so different from each other. Some earthenware such as the Yausu was excavated and this

is considered to have been a transitional earthenware from the Jōmon to the Yayoi, proving that the strong traditions of the Jōmon earthenware remained even though the Chinese way of baking had been already introduced.

The excavation of this kind of earthenware leads us to believe that the people of the Jōmon Period themselves applied the new baking technique. Thus there is no need to assume that the Yayoi earthenware was derived from a foreign country.

Changes in the shape and style of earthenware appeared to correspond to changes in living conditions. Because the hunting and fishing life that was led in the Jōmon Period was substituted by rice-farming in the Yayoi Period, it can be deduced that the change from the Jōmon to the Yayoi earthenware was brought about not only by the migration to Japan of foreign people but by the acceptance of new techniques. This is a plausible theory although it cannot be conclusively proven.

Questions on the Cultivation of Rice

THE CULTIVATION of rice in the Yayoi Period brings about similar questions as those asked concerning the Yayoi earthenware. There are two conflicting theories presented.

The first theory traces the origin of rice cultivation to a South-Asian style of rice farming which originally made use of wild rice. The second traces the origin of rice farming to the north Chinese while using the people of Korea and Manchuria as intermediaries.

Viewed from the standpoint of the customs and the rites practiced by the people of the rice culture, the first theory appears to be more plausible. But from the botanical point of view the second appears to be more acceptable in that both Japanese and Chinese rice is short-grained while the South Asian type of rice is long-grained and belongs to a different kind of plant altogether.

Both theories accept the fact that rice was brought into Japan from a foreign country. How it was brought remains a big question.

The successful cultivation of rice demands highly developed techniques and a variety of favourable conditions. It is very difficult for beginners to learn the techniques properly and thoroughly. This leads us to think that very skillful and knowledgeable rice farmers from abroad—Korea or Indonesia—brought the techniques into Japan. If so, the Yayoi people must have belonged to a foreign race who multiplied and were scattered all over Japan following the route that corresponds to the route followed by the Yayoi culture, i.e., from the western to the eastern areas of the country.

In that case some conspicuous physical differences between the

Relics of a house of the Jomon Period at Owada, Tachikawa, Tokyo.

An earthenware vessel of the Jomon Period.

new race and the original Jōmon race existed and must be found. However, notable changes in human bone or blood type are indistinguishable. Logically, then, we conclude that those who engaged in rice cultivation must have been not a new race but original Japanese people. It is reasonable to assume that the techniques of rice cultivation were introduced from abroad and adopted by the Japanese, but not reasonable to assume that a foreign race of rice cultivators brought in the techniques and reformed the culture that had already been established.

These are the two main themes.

Questions on the Origin of Japanese Cavalry

In the various stages of the formation of the Japanese race, what racial factors were involved and to what extent were they

mixed has been a very important question. Common sense tells us that since the Japanese race did not appear spontaneously on the islands of Japan it must have come from somewhere else. Also, the Japanese culture of the early ages developed through the acceptance of the higher and more advanced cultures of China or Korea. However, the Japanese did not content themselves with mere imitations of foreign cultures. They digested and adapted foreign cultures to their own use and finally established their own distinct, individual culture. For example, we know that bronze implements came from foreign lands. But those made in Japan and modelled after the original were made so that they could be solely utilized for Japanese purposes.

After World War II, Professor Egami Namio advanced the theory that a race of cavalrymen had conquered Japan. This theory caused a sensation in the ethnological world. According to Professor Egami, a

race of cavelrymen from mountainous forest areas in northern Asia came to the Japanese islands through South Korea. They first conquered Kyūshu and then moved eastwards to Yamato (Nara Prefecture) where they established the foundations of a unified Japanese nation.

Professor Egami continued arguing that this race of cavalrymen became the rulers of Japan and that the Imperial Family issued from this race. This race conquered the original settlers of Kyūshu around the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 4th century A.D. and established sovereignty over them. This theory lacks a firm historical, anthropological and sociological basis.

The race of cavalrymen is thought to have been the Funa race, whose distribution ranged widely from southern Siberia to Manchuria and Korea. Although I do not deny that some men of this race entered the Japanese islands, I believe that their entry took place in the early Yayoi Period. It seems almost impossible to believe that this race came to Japan with the aim of conquering the country and establishing sovereignty over it. Furthermore, it is difficult to believe it invaded and conquered Japan in the 3rd or 4th centuries A.D. The reasons for this statement are as follows:

If the race of cavalrymen had conquered Japan and established itself in the new country, it must have had a mobile army along with the main forces of cavalry. The Japanese forces of that time must also have had a cavalry. But very few examples can be found in which cavalry played a main rôle. Infantrymen instead apparently carried on war at that time.

Professor Egami attempted to prove his theory by stating that some changes can be recognized between the old tombs of the 4th and 5th centuries and that in 5th-century tombs a great deal of equipment for horses has been found, thus proving the existence of a horseback-riding culture only after the 5th century. No equipment for horses nor any swords that might be used in cavalry war have been excavated in the old tombs of the 4th century when, as

An earthenware vessel of the Yayoi Period.

Coming Up in the Next Issue:

In the next issue of The East we shall write about Gokuraku-jodo (Heaven) in the column entitled "Religion."

Believers in Jodo Buddhism, one of the Buddhist sects, thought that they could be re-born in Gokuraku-jodo as a reward for their faith in the immeasurable bliss of Buddha and Jodo Buddhism. Gokuraku-jodo (Sukhaviti in Sanskrit) means "a place of bliss". The three sutras (Jodo-Sanbu-kyo) which preach the existence of Gokuraku-jodo are thought to have been compiled in India in the second centure when the insecurity of the people was rife and chaos ruled.

These three sutras state that there are ten trillion "countries" of Buddha" in the West and that beyond them exists Gokuraku-jodo, which is a wonderful country which in its loveliness almost defies description.

Japan was greatly influenced by Jodo Buddhism by the end of the Heian and Kamakura Periods, both of which were periods of insecurity and disorder. Professor Nakamura will explain the origins of belief in Jodo as well as the changes that took place in this belief. He also will discuss how the concept of Jodo has undergone various alterations since its adoption by the Japanese.

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in the theory advanced by Professor Egami, a race of cavalrymen invaded Japan. The swords which have been excavated are the straight, not curved ones which are considered to have been needed for a cavalry war. This is just an example that contradicts Professor Egami's theory, and indeed many questions concerning his theory still remain to be answered.

Questions on the Origin of the Japanese Language

WHEN THE ORIGIN or the lineage of a race is researched, its language has always been an important factor. The relations between a language and a race are usually close and they correspond with each other in some cases but not in others.

Philological methods have been pursued in trying to trace the origins not only of the Japanese language but also of the Japanese race. As the derivation of the Japanese teminology of today can be traced to thirty different languages, this fact alone indicates the tremendous difficulties we face in trying to establish the origins of the Japanese language with any certainty.

On this question too there exist two important theories. One is the theory which traces the origin of the Japanese language to the Austronesian group of languages. The other traces it to the Ural-Altai group.

The Austronesian theory is divided into two parts, i.e., the "same lineage" theory and the "derivation and usage" theory. When we compare this language group with Japanese we find many similar words in their vocabularies. On the other hand, there is a crucial difference in vocal sounds, the Japanese language containing many polysyllabic words while the Austronesian group contains many monosyllabic. Another crucial difference is that grammatically the order of words is the reverse. These two facts point to the difficulty involved in accepting the "same lineage" theory. The "derivation and usage" theory seems to be more easily acceptable. On the other hand, because the similarities of vocabulary between Japanese and the Austronesian group are evident, it is necessary to research further into the relations between Japanese and the various languages that belong to this group.

The Ural-Altai languages and Japanese have close correspondence both in grammar and vocal sounds although they do not share many similar words in their vocabularies. Among linguistic experts the similarity in vocabulary is considered to be a changeable factor, while the rules of vocal sounds and grammar tend to be considered as stable. Therefore the theory that Japanese belongs to the Ural-Altai group of languages is more plausible.

Assuming that Japanese belongs to the Ural-Altai linguistic group, we must ascertain which place in the group Japanese occupies. In other words, did the Japanese language develop as a separate language at the time during which the Ural-Altai group broke up, or had it diverged directly from the original Ural-Altai language?

Another question that must be solved is whether Japanese and Korean developed from the same original language.

As I have already mentioned, I have reviewed the origins and the formation of the Japanese race from various standpoints. No definite conclusion can be drawn from the information that we have now and many, many questions still remain unanswered.

(From Rekishi Dokuhon)

The Japanese and Their Customs

Greetings

In the book "The Japanese Language" written by the late Professor Kindaichi Kyōsuke, one of the representative linguists of Japan, we read the following statement:

"When the Emperor of Manchuria visited Japan before World War II, Prince Chichibu—Chichibu-no-miya—the current Emperor's brother, went to Haneda Airport to welcome him on behalf of the Emperor of Japan. "At that time NHK (Japanese Broadcasting Corporation, the largest broadcasting station in Japan), which was to broadcast his arrival, was given instructions by the government to use the highest honorific language in speaking of the Emperor of Japan, high honorific language when speaking of Chichibu-no-miya, and higher honorific language (but not the highest) when speaking of the Emperor of Manchuria."

Ways of thinking that differentiate and define social status which are so much emphasized in Japan have placed great emphasis on form and ritual, even on the use of special words of greeting.

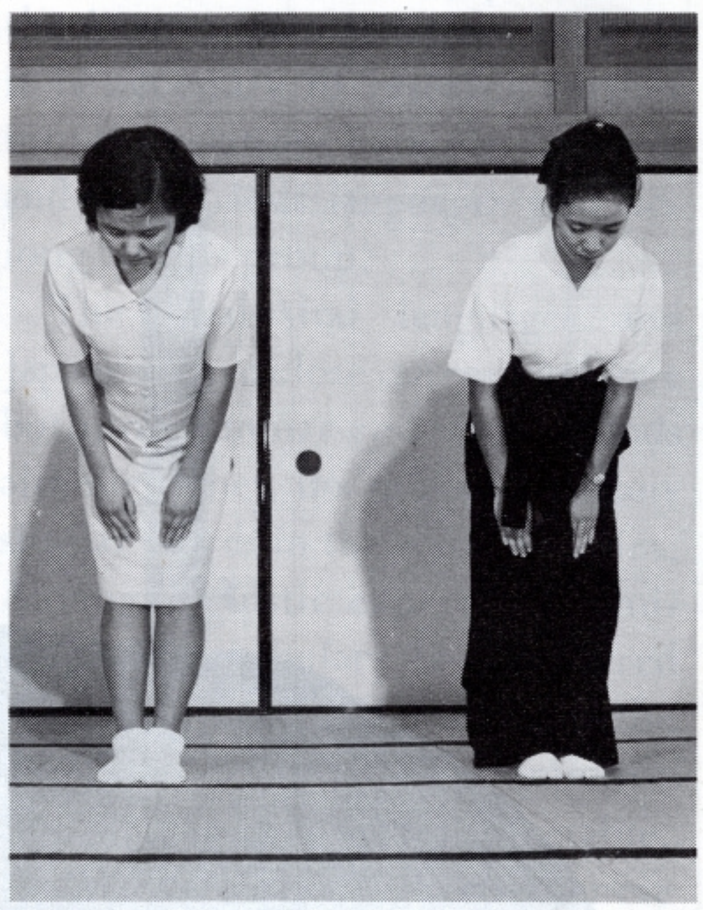
After the end of World War II, when General Douglas MacArthur arrived at Atsugi Airport, he stepped down from the plane and greeted the waiting officers standing at attention using the word: "Boys". This casual word of greeting astounded many Japanese, making them realize the difference in the use of terms of greeting.

In Japanese *aisatsu* 挨拶 is a greeting which has many meanings and whose interpretations are very complicated, especially if we compare them with greetings in other languages. *Aisatsu* has the following meanings:

1. reception, a bow.
2. an answer, reply, response.
3. a ritual word, the deportment and manners between two people who meet.
4. congratualtions and gratitude.

Aisatsu came from a term used by Zen Buddhist monks: 挨 means "to press" and 拶 means "to push back." Therefore *aisatsu* originally meant an answer or a reply, that is, to give the proper reply to a question. Gradually, *aisatsu* was used for greetings in a public place or on a ceremonial occasion such as a courtesy visit or an exchange of gifts. Therefore, many Japanese words of greeting are distinctly formal and are quite different from the colloquial words which are now generally in use.

The use of honorific words to clarify differences in social status between two people and to show respect and humility for the other person is one of the main characteristics of the Japanese language. Such honorific words are heard very often in *aisatsu* greetings. These *aisatsu* words, ritual and courteous as they are, include



many fixed words and taboos. Those Japanese people who are not accustomed to using them, especially those of the younger generation, are encountered with many difficulties.

One year not long ago NHK sent questionnaires to 350 leaders in various fields asking them to select five or six words which, according to their opinion, were beautiful in Japanese. As a result, eight hundred fifty-two words were sent in, of which the best ten that the leaders selected were the following: thank you; good-bye; yes; excuse me; good morning; refreshing; can I help you? (toward customers); good-night (sleep well); please; and no. It was surprising to notice that most of these ten are words of greeting.

Aisatsu, which originally included very special formal words for use in public places or on ceremon-

ial occasions, has become casual and generalized now in the everyday life of the Japanese people. Nowadays, *aisatsu* also includes the use of less formal words of greeting. Such terms as "*ohayō* (good morning)" or "*konnichiwa* (good afternoon)" have come to play an important rôle in making human relationships smoother. In the West as well as in the East, the main purpose of using these kinds of everyday words of greeting is to help to harmonize the relationships and associations between human beings.

Aisatsu had and has not only merits but also bad points. Ever since the Kamakura Period (1192–1333), *aisatsu* has been used to mean flattery or compliment. In that usage its original significance of improving human relationships disappears and *aisatsu* becomes formal and fixed in its meaning.

We Japanese have to use skillfully a different expression on every different occasion. In our difficult social language there is a special term that must be used for such a special occasion as, for instance, a regular annual event, addressing a person, a ceremony, congratulations, a funeral, a compliment, etc. The way of speaking to close friends and family is different from the way of speaking to other people. We Japanese have a honorific and a humble language as well as a language that is particular to women.

There are also expressions which are extremely courteous and words which have been unintentionally beautified. The complexity of these expressions is said to be peculiar to the Japanese language.

It is shameful for a Japanese adult not to be able to use the various expressions properly.

Such importance is attached to *aisatsu* that often one is evaluated and put into a definite social category in accordance with the terms he employs. This fact is judiciously observed in the expression "He cannot use even *aisatsu*," which means "He is an ill-mannered person who does not know how to use *aisatsu*." It may even go so far as to mean "He is an uneducated person." There is another expression "He doesn't address me with even one word of *aisatsu*", which means "He is ever so rude" or "He ignores me completely."

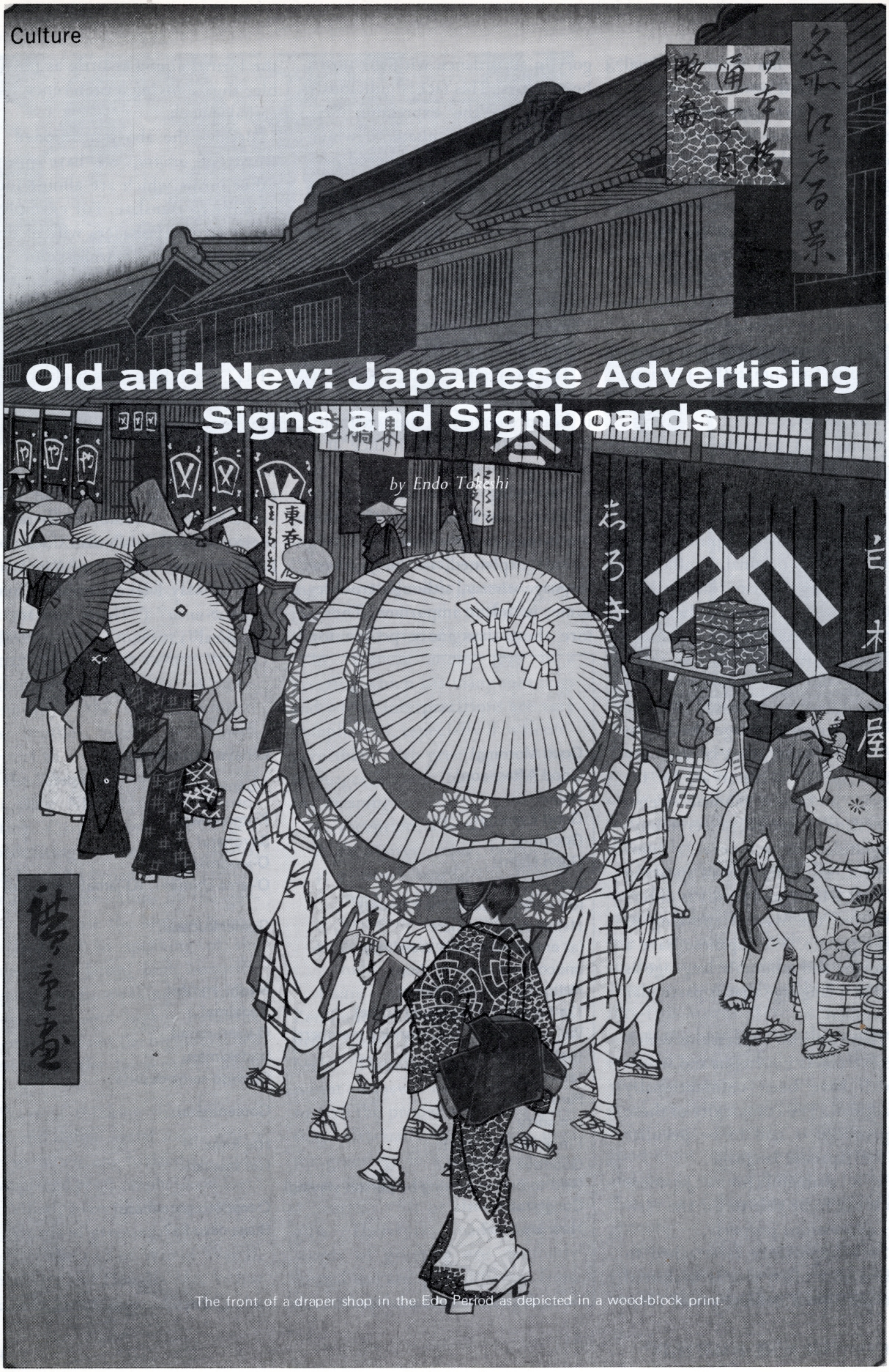
The expression "Can I visit you to convey *aisatsu* to you some day?" is heard sometimes, for example, upon seeing an acquaintance at a meeting. Sometimes it can be an embarrassing *aisatsu* should there be a favour or a request with which one cannot comply easily. As I have already explained, in the Japanese language *aisatsu*, although troublesome, is indeed important. Therefore these days more people use the formal *aisatsu* as little as possible, thus showing a preference for casual speech.

Besides the above-mentioned words of *aisatsu*, we have many other terms which are almost impossible to translate. For example, Mrs. Haru Reischauer, wife of the former American Ambassador to Japan, once spoke as follows: "My husband says to me "G'bye!" or "See you later!" before going out in the morning and "Hello!" or "Hi!" when he comes back home. The English language does not have the counterpart greeting terms "*Itte mairimasu*" (which literally means "I'm going"), or "*tadaima*" (which literally means "I've just come back)". Instead, a kiss takes their places. English also does not have the counterparts of "*Itadakimasu*" ("May I take a meal?") and "*Gochisō-sama*" ("Thank you for a nice meal").

Good Morning!	O-hayo-Gozaimasu!
Good Afternoon! Hello!	Konnichi-wa!
Good Evening!	Komban-wa!
Goodbye!	Sayonara!
Good Night!	O-yasumi-nasai!
Sorry to disturb you. (on entering someone's house)	O-jama-shimasu. (O-jamaitashimasu)
Hello! Anyone there? (at entrance or in a seemingly unoccupied room or shop)	Gomenkudasai
Hello! (on the telephone)	Moshi, moshi!
I'm home! (on returning home)	Tadaima!
Welcome home! (to returning members)	O-kaeri-nasai!
(before eating)	Itadakimasu
(after eating)	Gochiso-sama-deshita
Pardon me I'm sorry	Gomen-nasai
I'm going out now!	Itte-kimasu!
Goodbye for now! (said to person leaving by person staying)	Itte rasshai!
Congratulations!	O-medeto gozaimasu!
How are you?	Ikaga-desu-ka?

Old and New: Japanese Advertising Signs and Signboards

by Endo Takeshi



The front of a draper shop in the Edo Period as depicted in a wood-block print.

While we are sitting in a train which is passing through rural districts we notice many advertising signboards coming into view that very often deface and spoil the beautiful scenery. These advertising signboards were seldom, if ever, seen before the end of the Edo Period (1603–1867) in Japan.

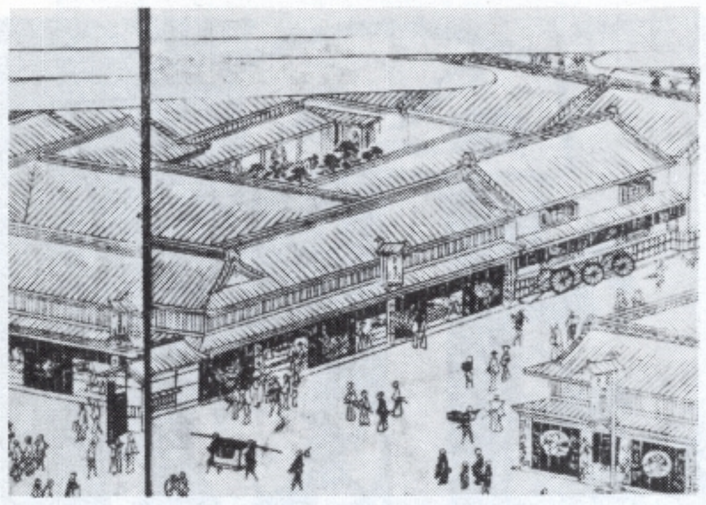
In those days advertising was generally done by means of signs either standing or hanging in front of shops. Most of them were designed simply and just bore the name or the picture of the commodity in which the particular shop specialized. In the Edo period, which can be considered the "golden age" of signboards, each shop devised its own individual sign.

Ever since the Meiji Period (1868–1912), however, those individual signs have been slowly disappearing. Neon signs and flashily-painted signboards have taken their place. We shall introduce to you various Japanese traditional signs—old, charming, dust-covered —now on display in museums.

It is not known exactly when signs began to appear in Japan. In *Ryō no Gige*, a legal commentary about laws in the Nara Period (710–793 A.D.), which was compiled in 833, we read that "in the markets, every shop is to have *shirushi* (literally, sign) with the name of the commodity on sale on it." This is the oldest historical record that we have about signs. There is a similar historical record from the Heian Period (794–1191). (The signs were important because there were markets on both the east and west sides of the Imperial Palace). It is not known what kind of material *shirushi* were made of nor precisely what words were written on them. In any case, these historical records indicate that advertising signs had already

Hairdressing Salon. A sign in the shape of a 17th century folding screen pictures combs, scissors, razors, etc.

The front of a cotton goods shop where "Hiyoké-noren", (sign-curtain also used as a sunshade), obstructs the inside view of the store.



A draper shop in the Edo Period (1603–1867) as depicted in "Edo-meisho-zue".

appeared about the 8th century.

We can see a signboard pictured in a scroll called *Seikōji engi emaki,* which was painted in 1487 during the Muromachi Period (1338–1573). The signboard that is depicted, which is thought to be the oldest such picture in existence, shows a small writing brush painted on a signboard next to the door of a brush shop.

In the Edo Period (1603–1867) many new shops were established, especially in large cities such as Edo, where the *Shōgun* resided, and Ōsaka and Kyōto. In those cities the currency system became prevalent and the traffic system expanded mainly as the result of the *Sankin Kōtai* system in which a daimyō had an alternate residence in Edo.

Due to keen competition among tradesmen, much attention was paid to the signs outside each store, as these signs played a big role in business dealings. Thus "the battle of the signs" began.

Until the beginning of the Edo Period, signs were usually were made of wood from cedar or cypress trees. They were about 60 cm. long and 45 cm. wide and had only simple pictures or characters on them. It was not until the second half of the 17th century that the first luxurious and extravagantly decorated signs began to appear such as those inlaid with gold or silver leaf or Japanese lacquer.

The Tokugawa Shogunate, Japan's feudal government, promoted an economization policy and published a document called "Prohibition of Luxury" in 1682 which stated that: "signs are to be simple boards and only India ink is to be used." However, this prohibition was unheeded.

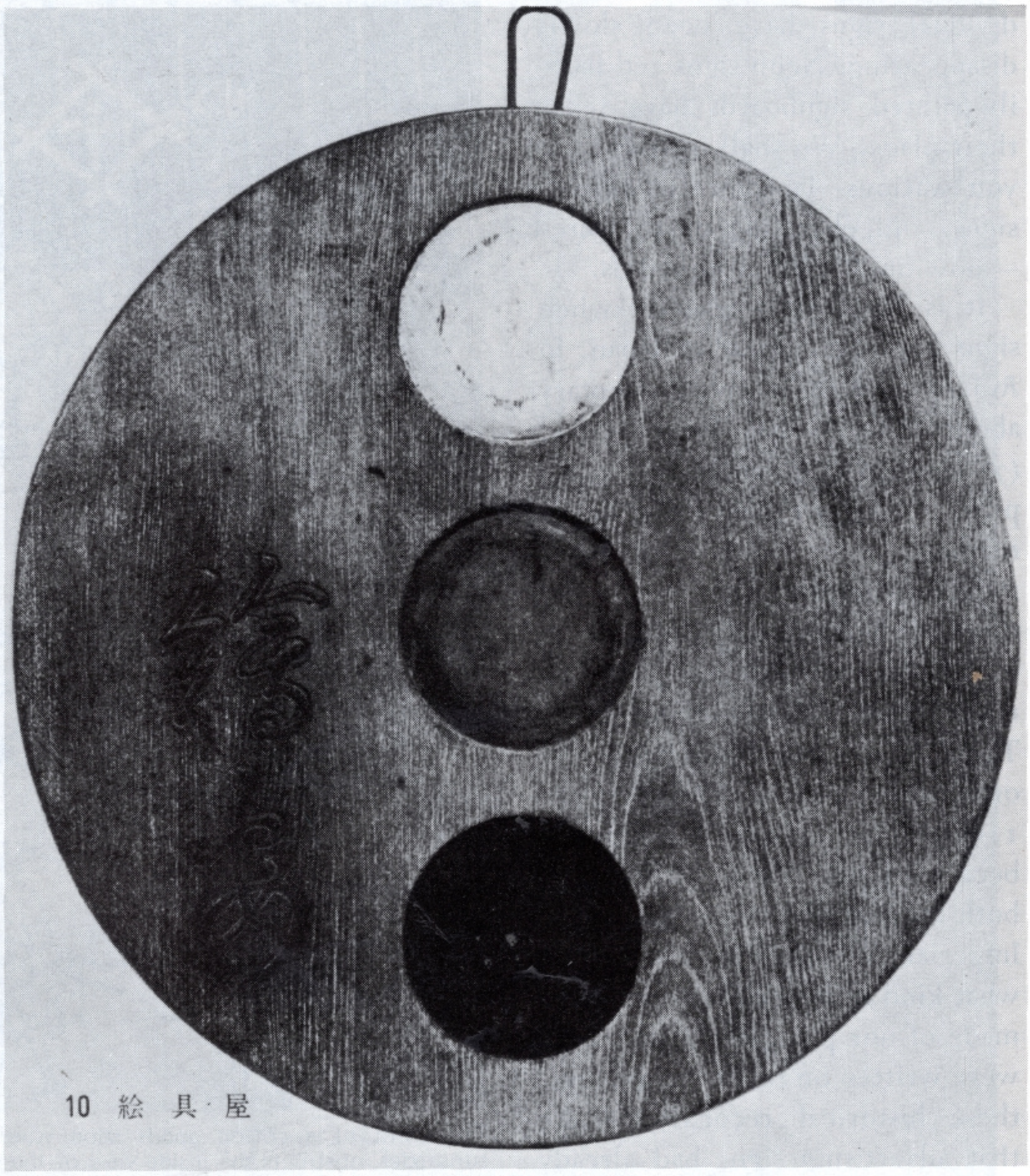
About the end of the Edo Period, hard quercus serrata (a type of oak) or zelkova began to be used instead of cedar or cypress and larger signs began to appear. Signboards 2 m. long and 1 m. wide were not at all unusual. At the same time small signboards, which until then had been simple, became more and more elaborate in design. Circles, and semi-circles, fan-shaped and oddly-shaped advertisements began to appear instead of the usual rectangles. To attract attention, signboards were devised on which the names of the articles for sale were carved and then coloured black with India ink or red paint and sometimes ornamented with gold leaf.

Signs are classified into five groups according to their positions: hanging, roof, placed, flag and shōji.

1. *The hanging sign.* A hanging signboard, the most popular sign, was usually hung at the front door or from the eaves of a roof. It was put outside in the morning when the shop opened and moved inside at closing time. So even now, "It's time for the signboard [to be brought back in]" is often heard, meaning "It'closing time."

A small sign, of course, could be carried in and out easily, but a

The Painting Materials Shop. A signboard made with three small carved circles is painted with three different colours.



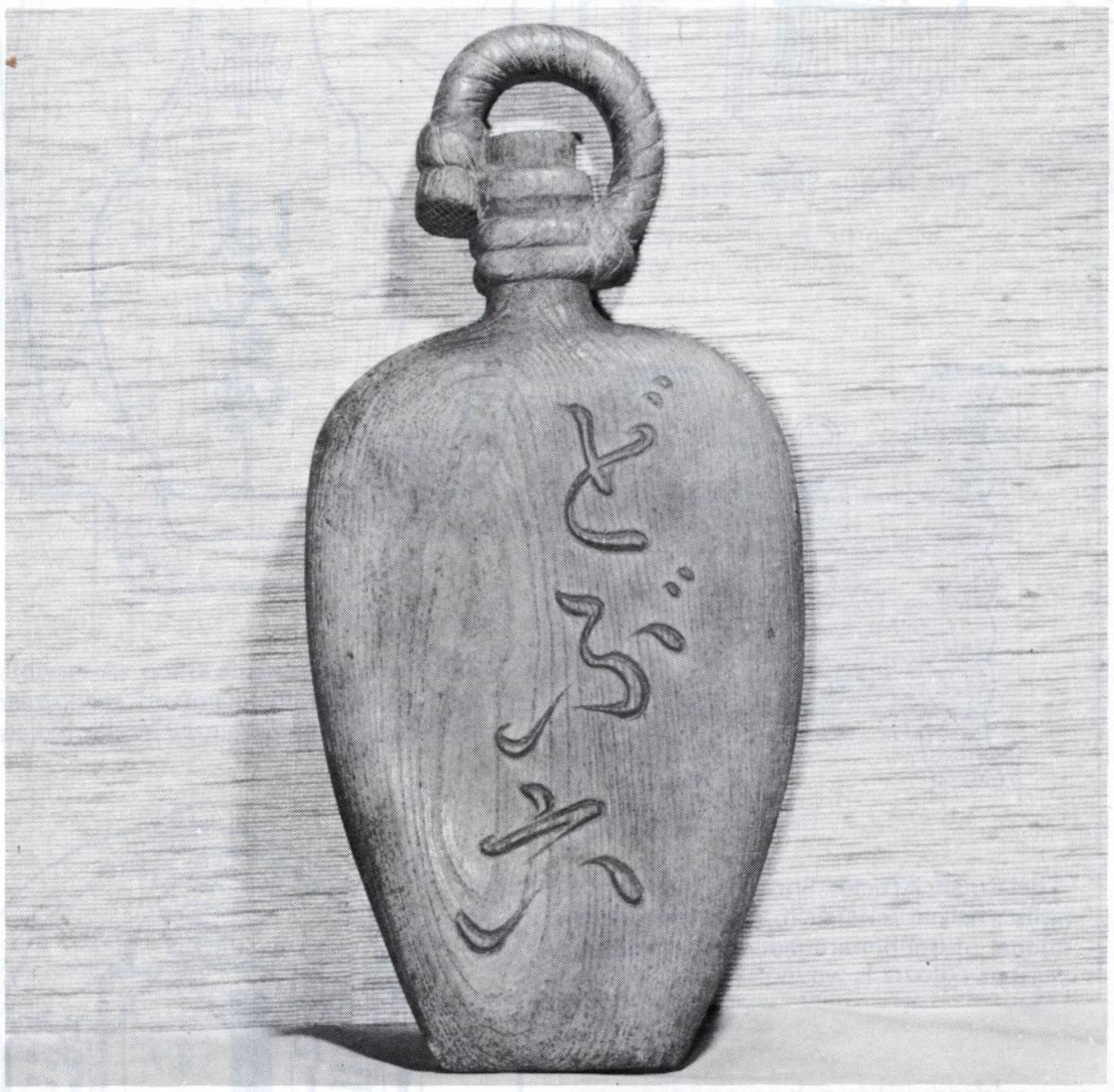
large one could not. Therefore the owner affixed a metal ring to the center of the long side of the rectangle so that the sign could be handled more easily.

2. *The roof sign*. A roof signboard was placed on the roof of a building. A standing signboard with its own roof belonged to this group. Usually the standing sign was large and in a fixed position. This type of sign was generally placed in front of shops such as those selling saké, vinegar, soy sauce, pharmaceutical products, draperies, or hardware. Especially in Ōsaka, where the streets were narrow, many such roof signs were seen.

3. *The placed sign*. This type of sign usually was placed in front of those shops selling toothbrushes, cakes, cosmetics, paper, books, etc. *Andon*, a paper-covered lantern to point out the shop to customers after darkness fell, belonged to this category. *Andon* signs were placed in front of such shops as those selling noodles or roasted sweet potatoes, and also advertised the location of an inexpensive restaurant or the studio of a storyteller.

4. *The flag sign*. A flag placed on the end of a pole was used in front of sushi shops, old-fashioned tearooms and cosmetic shops.

5. *The shōji sign*. Shōji, a paper sliding door, was not only an entrance to a building but had an added use as a sign for hairdressers, carpenters, plasterers, etc. It also signified a *ricksha* station.



A signboard of a saké shop.

Among the signs mentioned above, the hanging and flag signs and some of the placed ones were removable.

The main purpose of all signboards is to show to prospective customers or clients immediately what is offered for sale or what services are available at the designated place.

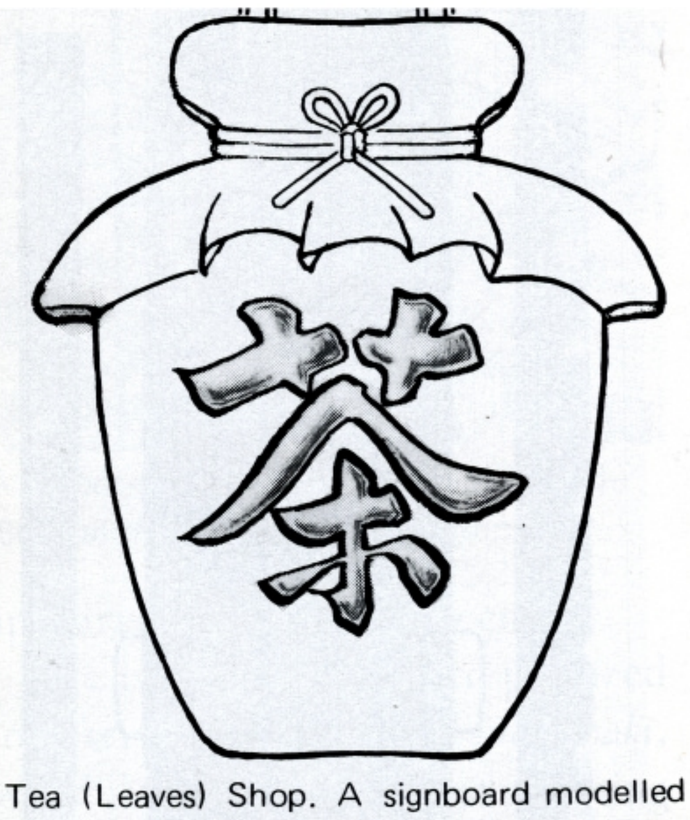
Sometimes commodities served

A signboard of a mirror shop.

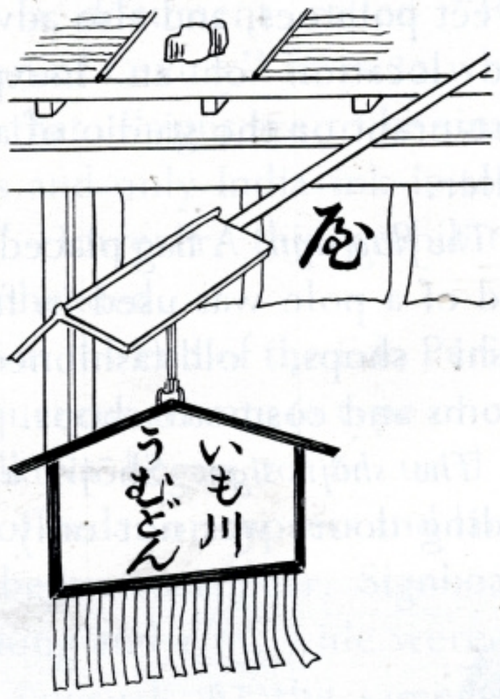
as signs. They could be displayed hanging or standing. Other commodities, however, were too small to be displayed in this manner, so they had to be magnified in order to be used as signs. If some of the commodities were unusable as signs, something similar to them was used, such as containers. Some Tōkyō merchants, who loved fun and plays on words, often made up puns on the names of their commodities and used them as signboards.

Here we would like to classify signs into five commodity groups: commodity, imitation commodity, signs relating to a commodity, containers, and puzzles.

1. *The commodity sign*. The commodity itself was hung on the eaves of a roof as a sign. This type was especially used in front of shops selling umbrellas, notebooks, hardware, mirrors, tortoise-shell articles, etc. Among these signs are

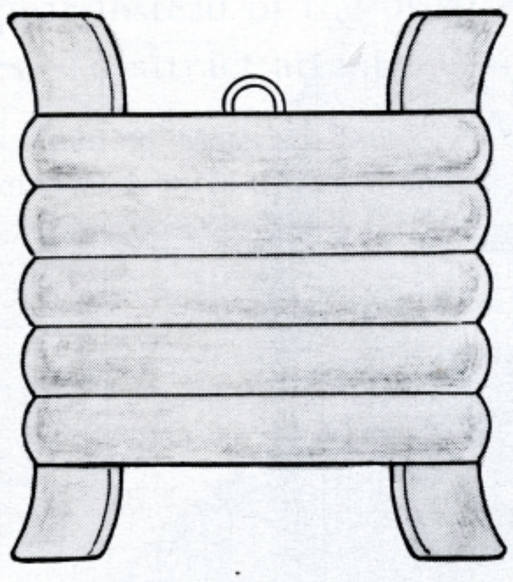


Tea (Leaves) Shop. A signboard modelled after a tea (leaves) box shows the word "Tea" written on it.



The Noodle Shop.

The Personal Insignia Shop. A magnified seal on which the name of the owner is indicated is enclosed in a circular red frame.



The Small Articles Shop. A shop which sells small articles such as thread displays a model of bobbin around which thread of various colours is wound.

The Money Exchange House. A magnified coin made of papier-maché is painted black and bears the name of a coin painted in gold.

hanging wooden signs with real commodities attached to them.

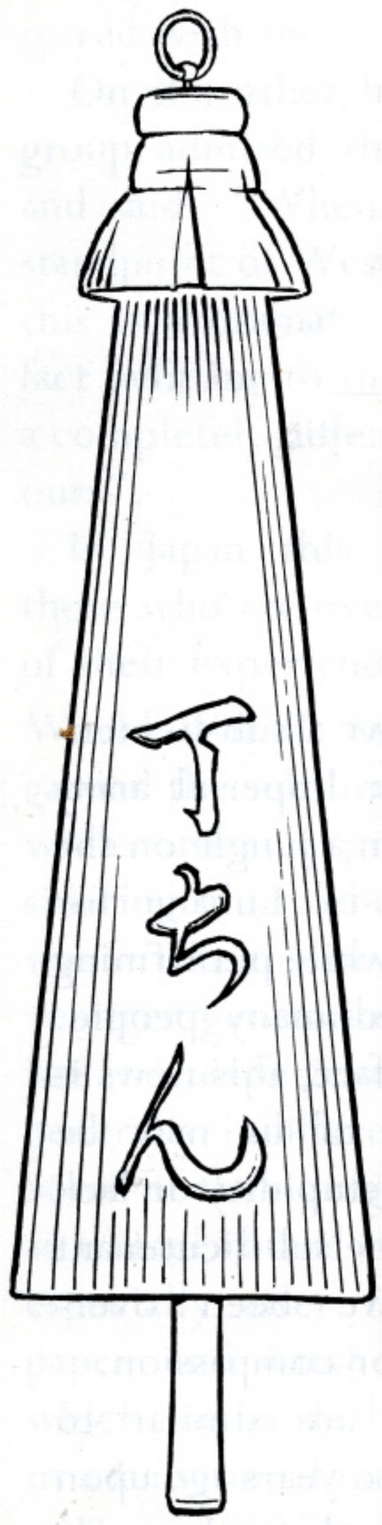
2. *The imitation commodity sign*. An imitation commodity made on a larger scale than the real one was used as a sign to attract the attention of customers more effectively. This type of sign was popular with shops selling brushes, fans, authenticating seals, eye-glasses, and smoking articles.

3. *The sign relating to a commodity*. This sign was placed outside such shops as those selling saké, bean paste, and socks. For example, cedar leaves made into a bundle in the shape of a straw rice bag and tied at the center were used as a sign over saké shops. Sometimes the cedar leaves were formed into a round bundle in the shape of a ball and called *shurin*. Cedar leaves were used because saké barrels were made of cedar and ashes of cedar were used for making saké in the Edo Period. We can see them on old folding screens that depict the social customs of the early Edo Period.

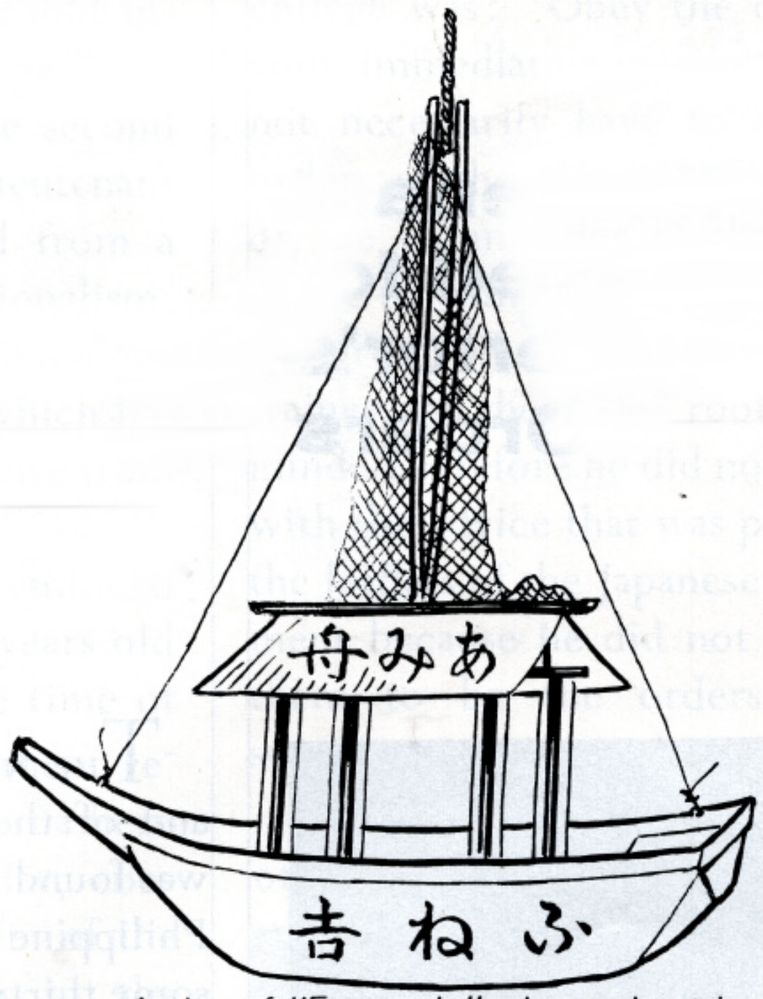
The special sign signifying a bean paste shop is called *Sekkai*, which is half of the oval part of a rice scoop. Bean paste used to be put into a container made of bamboo and the *Sekkai* was used for serving it, which is the reason that these shops used *Sekkai* for their sign. Nowadays *Sekkai* means "looking after someone" because it once was a special article used for serving a person.

The special sign for socks is a paper pattern of socks.

4. *The container sign*. In the case of liquid commodities such as saké, vinegar, soy sauce and the like, the signs were jar-shaped flat boards painted or carved with the names of the commodity. Sugar and pharmaceutical shops used a sign shaped like a paper bag, because the sugar or the medicine was thus wrapped. Shops selling tea leaves had pot-shaped signs with the name of the commodity painted on them. Flour shops used 凸 signs, in-



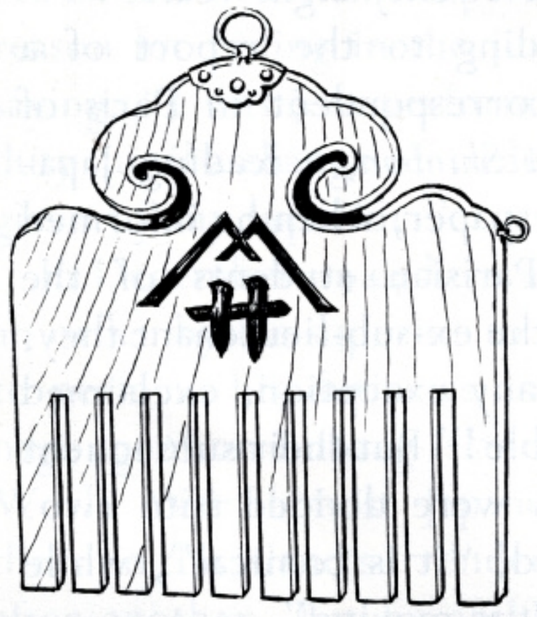
The Umbrella and Lantern Shop. Because both umbrellas and lanterns were made of paper they were sold in the same shop.



A sign of "Funayado" where a boat is rented for fishing or excursions.

The Japanese Socks Shop. A sign is put up in the shape of a sock with the words "Made to Order" [socks available] written on it.

The Pawn Shop. Two cones indicated that in default of payment of interest an article that had been pawned was forfeit within two months.



The Comb Shop. This shop displays the magnified model of a comb. Women began to wear combs as hair ornaments during the 18th century.

tending to show flour boxes piled atop each other.

5. *The puzzle sign*. Included in this category are shops which sold combs, roasted sweet potato, tobacco, and sweet saké, as well as pawnshops and public bathhouses. The sign signifying public bathhouses is a bow and arrow, because "*yu iru*" in Japanese means "to take a bath" as well as "to shoot with a bow." Comb shops were called *Jūsan ya* (13 shop) because "*kushi*" (comb) consists of "*ku*" (9) and "*shi*" (4). The sign signifying toothbrush shops is a monkey with a toothbrush because "*mashira*" (monkey) also means white. ("Brush your teeth so that they will be white.") The sign for cake shops was *Arauma* (an untamed horse) wearing the *Okame* mask (the mask of a fat-faced woman). The mask is worn as a blinder to keep the horse under control. *Arauma* sounds like *Araumashi*, which means "Oh, delicious!" Roasted sweet potato shops used signs with *hachi ri han* painted on them. Eight and a half *ri* (*hachi ri han*) is approximately nine *ri* (*ku ri*) and one *ri* is about 4 kilometers. *Ku ri* also means chestnut.

Thus in the Edo Period there were many different kinds of signs. And besides the above-mentioned ones, the merchants began to use leaflets and handbills and other methods of advertising. Since the Meiji Period (1868–1912) commercial competition became keener and advertising became more varied and more flashy. Such advertising as dropping leaflets from an aeroplane, advertising balloons, neon signs, posters and newspaper and magazine advertisements have been rife. Indeed, flashily-painted signs have taken the place of the old signs. The "golden age" of signs died after the appearance of the new advertising. Now the old signs once again loom high in importance, if not in use, as folklore articles and cultural treasures in the museums of Japan. 東

The Sub-lieutenant Who Waited for His Superior's Orders

THE NEWS THAT a sub-lieutenand of the former Imperial army was found hiding in a jungle on the Philippine island of Lubang for some thirty years while performing his duty astounded many people. To most of us, in fact, this news is incredible. Some of us may be ready to attribute stupidity or lack of seriousness to the sub-lieutenant while others have been overwhelmed by pity or compassion.

Such emotions are similar to those expressed two years ago upon receiving the news that a Japanese World War II straggler had been hiding in a jungle on the island of Guam for twenty-eight years.

According to the report of a special correspondent in Paris of the *Asahi Shinbun*, a leading Japanese newspaper, when he informed several Parisian students of the news of the ex-sub-lieutenant they, without any exception, exclaimed "Incredible!" But their subsequent reactions were divided into two. Some said, "It is comical", while others "It is moving".

The first group said: "It is not worthy of such surprise; we must consider the matter coolly." And they continued by arguing: "The conduct of the sub-lieutenant was based on and supported by the World War II ideology of performing one's duty in the holy war and on the orders from the Emperor, the absolute monarch. Therefore it is not amazing that the sub-lieuten-

ant is considered to be a robot inspired with such an ideology."

On the other hand, the second group admired the sub-lieutenant and said: "When viewed from a standpoint of Western rationalism, this is a dramatic and miraculous fact befitting to the East which has a completely different culture from ours".

In Japan this news reminded those who are over forty years old of their experience at the time of World War II. Some of them regarded the sub-lieutenant as a hero while others expressed pity, considering him to be a victim of the war. Those who belong to the younger generation and who have had no experience of war were generally indifferent to the news. Some of them might even go so far as to feel hatred towards the news especially after they read newspapers and watched T.V., both of which media dealt with this news in a sensational manner.

Upon his arrival to Japan a press conference was held at Haneda (Tōkyō) airport. This fifty-one year old ex-sub-lieutenant explained the reason for hiding in the jungle by saying, "I was just performing my duty until a change of orders was given by my superior."

In December 1944 he was given an order by his superior to remain to perform his duties as an espionage agent on Lubang Island. After World War II most Japanese soldiers on the island surrendered one after another. But he and two of his men did not comply with the Japanese Government's advice to surrender. His fellow men were shot to death in 1954 and 1972 respectively.

Onoda had graduated from the Military Staff College of Nakano, an organization to train espionage agents where absolute obedience to immediate superiors was emphasized. One of the mottos of this college was: "Obey the orders of your immediate superior. You do not necessarily have to obey the orders of the General Staff Office or the commander of the army." These teachings are thought to have had great influence upon the young trainee and they were rooted in his mind. Therefore he did not comply with the advice that was printed in the leaflets of the Japanese Government because he did not consider them to be the orders of his superior.

In the case of Mr. Yokoi, the other war-straggler who had hidden for twenty eight years on the island of Guam, he, according to his statement, had continued to observe the Combatants' Code which ordered "You must not be put to the shame of being taken alive as a war prisoner." Both of these two soldiers consistently continued to observe those teachings of the war which inspired them. But the conclusion that the attitudes of these two soldiers are typically Japanese cannot be drawn so easily. It is true that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese were inspired by similar teachings and that their thinking was profoundly influenced by them. However, they abandoned those ways of thinking very quickly after the war was over. It is rather exceptional for a Japanese to adhere to a certain way of thinking. The fact that the Japanese like and often use the saying, "Let bygones be bygones", indicates that the attitudes of the two soldiers are exceptional. But when we consider the fact that at least four soldiers, including the companions of the sub-lieutenant, behaved in such a way and that examples of this kind cannot be found in other countries, we cannot deal with those two events as mere exceptions.

It is possible to state that some factors existed in the character of the Japanese before World War II that drove them into such behavior as absolute obedience to orders or to codes. But the Japanese have changed their ways of thinking. Especially those of the younger generation who were and are educated at schools after the war cannot accept such an idea as absolute obedience to orders. Some foreigners believe that many Japanese who praise the behavior of Mr. Yokoi and Mr. Onoda, the sub-lieutenant, feel nostalgic for the old militarism. But this is not quite the point. 東

A Calligrapher Should Not Quarrel with his Writing Brush

書

In China, the T'ang, which came after the Sui, was an era in which a highly-developed culture was established. This culture was influenced by the civilizations of Persia, Egypt, India and Greece. Therefore in this period studies and knowledge assumed great importance and produced many scholars, poets, and painters. *Sho*, calligraphy, a unique art of writing characters aesthetically, became very important too.

Among the famous calligraphers of the T'ang era were 虞世南 Yü Shih Nan, 褚遂良 Ch'u Sui Liang, and 欧陽詢 Ou Yang Hsün. According to one historical record about the T'ang Period, Ch'u Sui Liang refused to write unless he had a good writing brush and India ink. One day he asked Yü: "Which do you think is superior, my calligraphy or Ou Yang Hsün's?

He answered: "Ou is said not to complain about the paper and the brush but to write on any kind of paper with any type of brush. He is able to write as he desires, while you are still complaining about the paper and the brush. In this sense I think that he has a skill beyond yours!"

In China there is a saying that "a master of calligraphy does not quarrel with his brush," which means that whether he be a painter or a calligrapher a real master should not be prejudiced against his tools and materials.

In Japan we have a similar proverb: "*Kōbō* does not quarrel with his writing brush." Obviously this proverb was projected from the Chinese by replacing the term 'calligrapher' with the name 'Kōbō'. Kōbō was a priest, and at the same time a master of calligraphy, who lived in the Heian Period.

As we have mentioned before in the issue of *The East* Vol. XI, No. 7, *sho* in China was considered to be an art equal to that of literature or painting. This was also true in Korea, Vietnam and Japan, all the countries in which Chinese characters were introduced. For example, a type of painting called *bunjin-ga*, which originated in China and which is a combination of a picture, a poem and calligraphy, was considered to be excellent when all three art forms harmonized with each other. The reason that *sho* has played such an important rôle in Chinese culture is that Chinese characters are not just phonetic symbols but scrupulously drawn "pictures" produced by a bold abstraction of pictorial symbols, and since ancient times the aesthetics of the characters have been taken into consideration in the process of their formation.

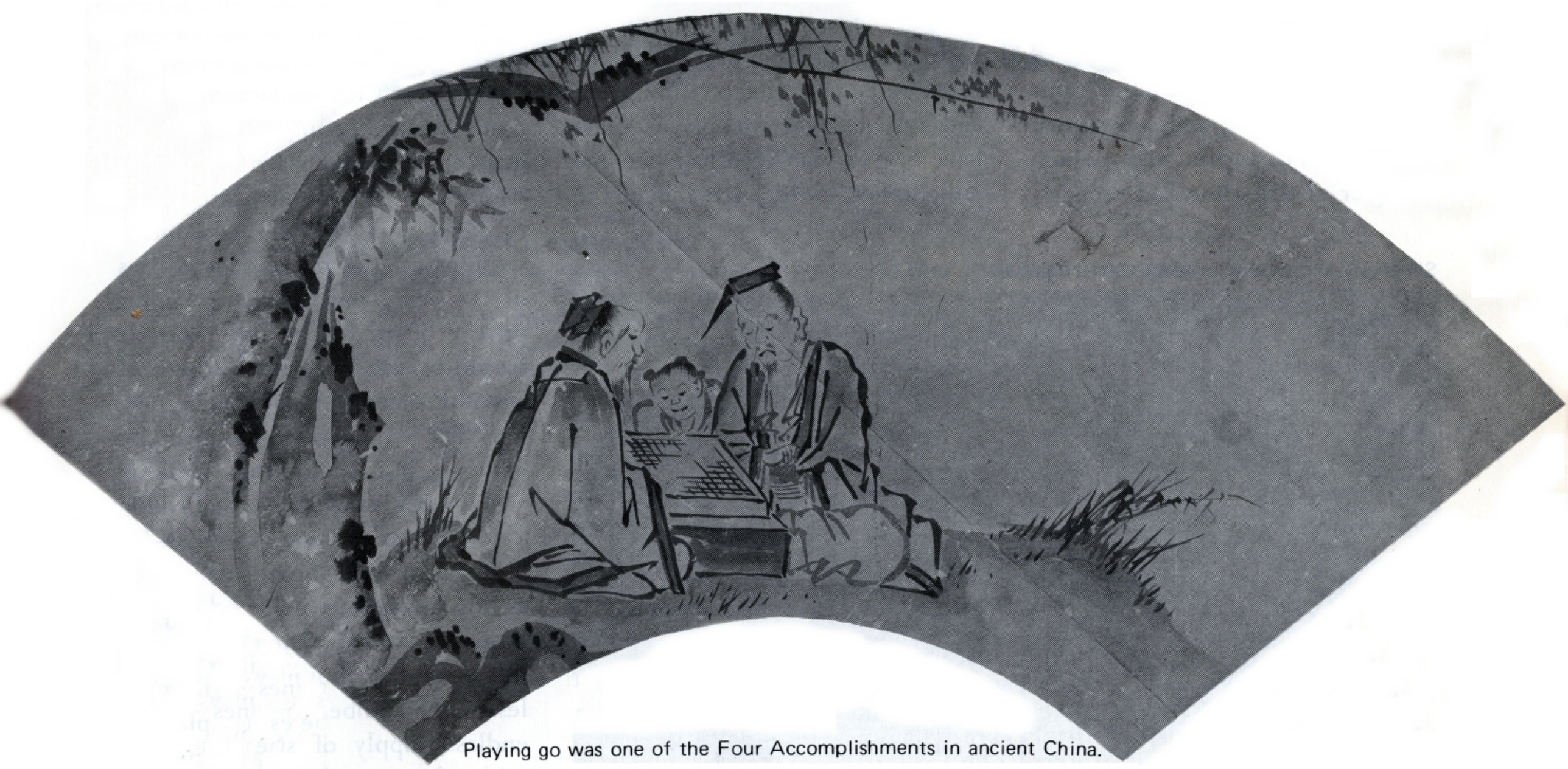
Usually, beginners of *sho* trace or copy the work of a master. Even a master of *sho*, who has already established his own original style of calligraphy, began by copying the work of a former master.

Until recently *shūji* (learning calligraphy) was one of the subjects taught in many Japanese elementary schools. In *shūji* classes the students began the study of calligraphy by copying the works of great masters. It is only since World War II that it has been felt important to emphasize an individual's own calligraphic style. Unfortunately, *sho* is not now as popular in Japan—and probably not even in China—as it used to be. In any case, whether in Japan or in China, the basic exercise for learning *sho* is to copy the work of a former master.

When we observe the process by which the Chinese character 書 *sho*, which means calligraphy, to write, was produced, we see that the ancient people learned *sho* as we do. The old form of 書 (*sho, kaku*) is written 𦘒 or 𦘒. These two characters, which consist of 聿 *itsu* and 者 *sha* and which we introduced in the issue of *The East* (Vol. IX, No. 7) were modelled after 筆 *hitsu,* which means "a writing brush." The old form of 者 is written 𤯔 or 𤯔. Both of them consist of an upper part which describes burning wood and a lower part which describes the shape of a *mi*, which is agricultural equipment that thrashes and separates the grain from the husk. Therefore these two old characters indicate "to save firewood in the *mi*." Notice that these characters give no indication of any meaning that has anything at all to do with "to write."

More than 90% of Chinese characters are combinations of an ideograph and a phonetic sign. 書 *sho* is not an exception. In other words, to illustrate this case, 聿, meaning a writing brush, (an ideograph) is combined with 者, *sha* (a phonetic sign). So this combination indicates that 書 means "to do *sha* with a writing brush." The Chinese characters pronounced *sha* mean "to trace" or "to imitate." Therefore we can imagine that to the ancient Chinese *sho* (to write) meant "to trace or to copy with a writing brush."

書 normally used to be used as verb meaning "to write." Later it came to embrace the additional meanings "something that is written" (a book or notebook) and "a writing style" as well as its original sense of "to write." 東



Playing go was one of the Four Accomplishments in ancient China.

Go and the Three Games

by William Pinckard

GAMES-PLAYING is one of the oldest and most enduring of all human traits. Various pieces of evidence ranging from dice discovered at Sumer and game-boards depicted on Egyptian frescoes to Viking chess pieces and ball parks constructed by ancient empires deep in the Andes link up directly with Saturday night bridge games in Kansas City and the annual go title matches in Tokyo.

Games are undeniably a concomitant of civilization and even in their most primitive forms presuppose some degree of sophistication. Most of all, they require the ability to think in abstractions and to manipulate ideas in logical terms, thereby giving form to what is formless and creating small, recognizable patterns in the shadow of great mysteries.

From ancient times in Japan the so-called "Three Games" were backgammon, chess and go. Chess probably comes from India, backgammon from the Near or Middle East, and go from pre-Han China. Backgammon is a gambling game which, using dice, gives luck or chance the preponderant role. Chess in one of its earlier forms also used dice, but it takes its present shape from the structure of a royal society and from war manoeuvres. Go is the most abstract and "open" of the three; and with its freedom from complicated rules, its simplicity of form, its fluidity and spaciousness, it comes remarkably close to being an ideal mirror for reflecting basic processes of mentation.

Go is played with black and white "stones" all of exactly the same value, thus somewhat resembling the binary mathematics

which is the basis of the computer. The stones are played onto the board and are left as they stand throughout the game, so that the game itself takes shape as a visible record of the thinking that went into it. About three hundred years ago an eminent Chinese monk came to Japan on a visit and was shown the diagram of a game of go which a master of that time had recently played. Without knowing anything of the game save the sketchy description they gave him at the time (this was after go had more or less died out in China), the monk studied the moves as shown on the record and after a few moments remarked with much admiration and respect that the player must have been a man who had become enlightened—which was indeed the case. (It is interesting to note that this story is told on the one hand by go-players to illustrate the quality of the game and on the other hand by Buddhists to show the acuity of the monk from China.)

The great 17th century Japanese playwright Chikamatsu, in a famous passage, compares the four quarters of the go board to the four seasons, the black and white stones to night and day, the 361 intersections on the board to the days of the year, and the center point on the board to the Pole Star. It would be easy to erect a tower of fanciful theory along these lines, but that would only obscure the obvious point. In this striking analogy Chikamatsu is describing a feeling of hugeness and all-inclusiveness—the board conceived as a complete world system in potential form. The board and pieces can be thought of as limitless: any number of lines and an endless supply of stones to play with, the game lasting a lifetime, the game itself *being* the life of the players. (In Chikamatsu's play a young man becomes old and grows a long beard while watching a single game.) Only because we are human, after all, and must put practical limits to our activities, do we use just a small part of the infinite board. But this field of nineteen by nineteen is large enough to contain everything we are able to put into it. The number of possible games playable on this board has been reckoned to be more than the number of molecules in the universe.

An anonymous go-player has written: "The board is a mirror of the mind of the player as the moments pass. When a master studies the record of a game he can tell at what point greed overtook the pupil, when he became tired, when he fell into stupidity, and when the maid came by with tea."

Simplicity and a sense of spaciousness are qualities both of go and Oriental art.

Two philosophies of the steak.

The basic philosophy of the American restaurant.

The chef throws a slab of raw steak into the kitchen broiler.

It sits there until it's rare, medium or well-done.

The waiter brings it to your table.

You eat it.

The Benihana philosophy.

The chef comes right up to your hibachi table. (Why shouldn't you see the man who's actually creating your meal?)

He bows. (There's no reason why a chef can't be a gentleman.)

He sets the raw steak in front of you. (Isn't it nice to see for yourself that you're getting the very freshest, prime cuts?)

He asks you how you want it. (There's no luxury like the luxury of dealing directly with your chef.)

He cuts your steak into bite-size morsels. (Why should you have to perform any labor?)

His knife begins a snappy, rhythmic attack on the onions. (We believe there's as much drama in a dancing onion as in a dancing chorus girl.)

He slams the pepper shaker against the grill. (It's not good for a chef to suppress his excitement.)

As he cooks he adds all kinds of Japanese sauces and seasonings. (No, Worcester sauce is not part of our theory.)

At last he puts the sizzling steak directly on your plate. (The world's fastest waiter couldn't serve you better.)

You eat it. (Tell us. Has there ever been a more palatable philosophy?)

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Contrary to the opinion of many people, go has nothing particular to do with Buddhism. Because it is a valid system in itself it offers nothing contradictory to other valid systems, and can indeed be used as an aid in studying other systems, but in fact go is an older inhabitant on this planet than is Buddhism. In China it became one of the Four Accomplishments, the others being poetry, painting and music. It reached Japan around the 7th century and for a long time remained the exclusive property of a leisured noble class. Then during the 16th century all this changed. The many great families and clans which had warred happily against each other for a thousand years were gradually brought under the hegemony of the Tokugawa Shoguns. It was during the subsequent period of the Tokugawa era (roughly from 1600 to 1850) that go, along with the haiku, kendo, tea-ceremony and so on, was most actively cultivated as a way of constructively channelling the mental energies of people during the long years of peace. One formal word for go in Japanese is *Kido*. *Ki* is the old Chinese word for go, and *-do* is the Chinese word Tao, which means Way—or, more specifically, a Way to enlightenment.

All games, of course, channel mental energies, whether they lead to enlightenment or the reverse, but it is suggestive to consider the "Three Games" in their social context because then we can see how each of them reflects certain basic characteristics of a general or regional type.

Chess, for example, the great historical game of the West, involves monarchs, armies, slaughter, and the eventual destruction of one king by another. The game appears to be entirely directed along the lines of the great myths of the West from the Mahabharata to the Song of Roland—the overthrow of a hero and the crowning of a new hero. The pieces, from king down to pawn (peon), give a picture of a hierarchical and pyramidal society with powers strictly defined and limited.

Backgammon, the favorite game of the Near and Middle East, is preoccupied with the question of Chance and Fate (Kismet). All play is governed by the roll of dice over which the player has no control whatever. The players are matched against each other, but each tries to capture a wave of luck and ride it to victory. The loser curses his misfortune and tries again, but "the finger writes, and having writ, moves on." The individual is helpless in the grip of superior forces.

Go, the game of ancient China and modern Japan (and now spread-

A go player in a moment of intense passion from a 3-sheet print by Kunisada.

ing throughout the world), is unique in that every piece is of equal value and can be played anywhere on the board. The aim is not to destroy but to build territory. Single stones become groups, and groups become organic structures which live or die. A stone's power depends on its location and the moment. Over the entire board there occur transformations of growth and decay, movement and stasis, small defeats and temporary victories. The stronger player is the teacher, the weaker is the learner, and even today the polite way to ask for a game is to say "Please teach me." Things are becoming different now, but in earlier times when go was so much admired by painters and poets, generals and monks, the point of the game was not so much for one player to overcome another but for both to engage in a kind of cooperative dialogue ("hand conversation," they used to call it) with the aim of overcoming a common enemy. The common enemy was, of course, as it always is, human weakness like greed, anger and stupidity.

Every year in March department stores all over Japan present elaborate displays in connection with the Doll Festival. If one looks carefully at the miniature weapons and musical instruments and furniture of a really complete display one will find a tiny backgammon board, a Japanese style chess board, and a go board.

The "Three Games" is a valid classification because taken together they make up a coherent world view. All philosophy boils down to speculation centered around the three basic relationships of the human species. The first is man in his relationship to the remote gods and mysterious forces of the universe. The second is man in the society he builds up around him. The third is man in his own self. Or, to put it another way, man the backgammon-player, man the chess-player, and man the go-player.

That we have the three games in Japan shows that they answer basic needs in the human spirit. People everywhere are preoccupied with social structures, position and status; and everyone who is capable of reflection must sometimes speculate on his private relation to fortune and fate. But go is the one game which turns all preoccupations and speculations back on their source. It says, in effect, that everyone starts out equal, that everyone begins with an empty board and with no limitations, and that what happens thereafter is not fate or wealth or social position but only the quality of your own mind. 東

Chicken Roll with Vegetables

Ingredients (Serves Four):

Chicken Breast ..... 250g (about 1/2 pound)
Salt ..... 2/3 teaspoonful
Pepper ..... a little
White Fish ..... 100g (about 1/4 pound)
Saké ..... 1 tablespoonful
Salt ..... 1/3 teaspoonful
Pepper ..... a little
Celery ..... 1 stalk
Carrot ..... 1/2 small size
String Beans ..... 50g (about 1/8 pound)
Salt ..... a little

To Prepare:

1) Cut the chicken into slices about 3mm thick so that it can be rolled easily. Pound lightly with flat edge of knife, add salt and pepper, and set aside.
2) Chop white fish as fine as possible and mash into a paste, adding saké, salt and pepper.
3) Cut celery and carrot into same length as chicken. Boil celery, carrot and string beans in salted water for a few minutes and dry with cloth.
4) Spread the white fish paste on the slices of chicken, put celery, carrot and string beans on top and shape into a roll.
5) Wrap the chicken roll tightly in silver foil and heat in the oven for 20 minutes at medium temperature.
6) Slice the roll vertically about 3cm (about 1 inch) thick and decorate with lemon. 東

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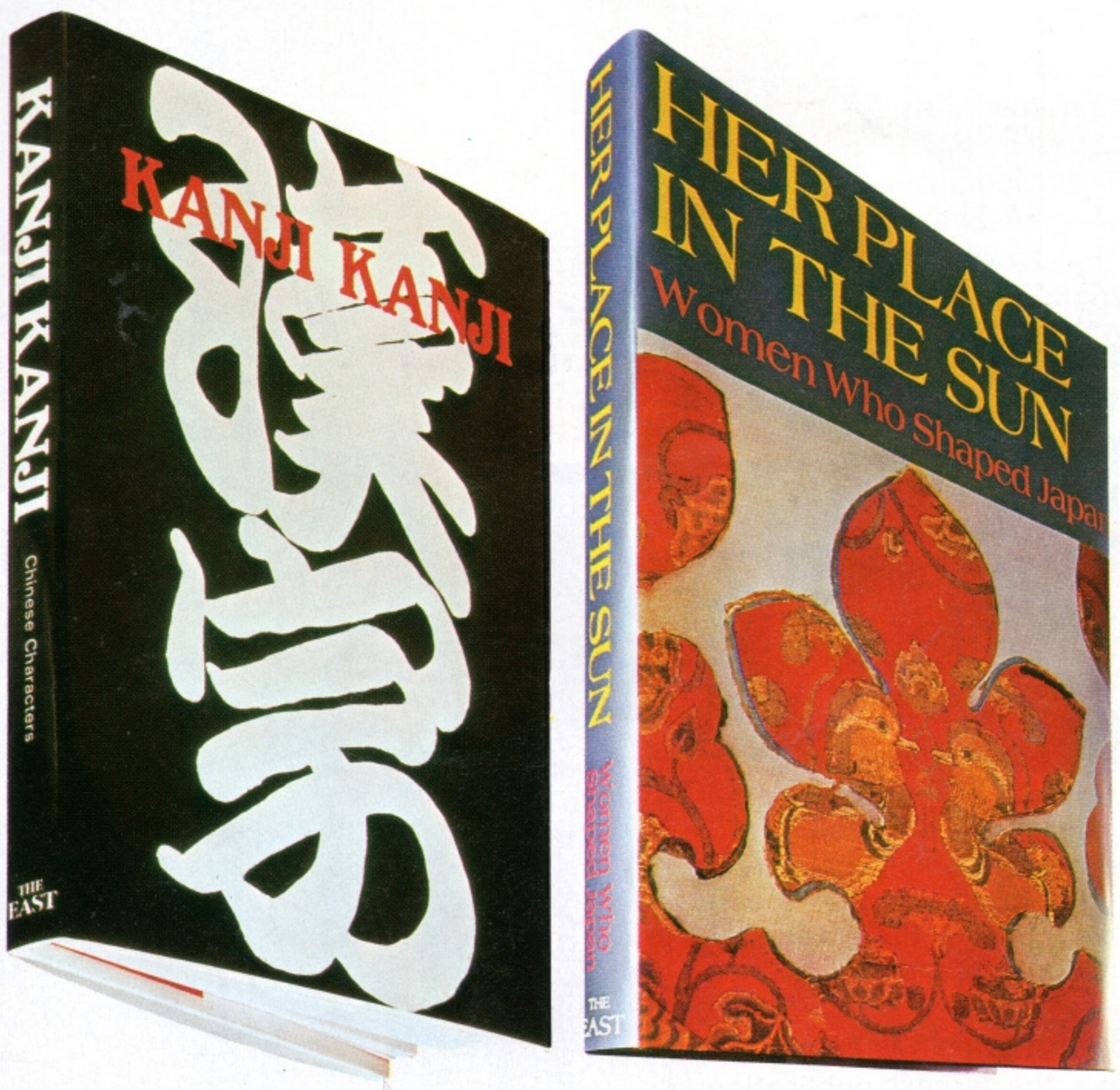

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